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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

IN MEMORY OF
REV. FATHER A. M. TABARD
PRESIDENT OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, 1910 TO 1926
THE FIRST NUMBER OF VOL. XVII IS ISSUED
AS A MEMORIAL NUMBER

S. SRIKANTAIYA

मिथिक् समाज एव टबार्ड् गुरुः ।
टबार्ड् गुरुरेव मिथिक् समाजः ॥

IN MEMORIAM.

ANTHONY MARIE TABARD was born on the fifteenth of October 1863, in Northern France. He completed his education at the University of France where he graduated in September 1881. He came to Bangalore as a young priest and as a professor to the St. Joseph's College more than 40 years ago. He soon began to identify himself with the people amongst whom he had to work. He studied Tamil under the Rev. Father A. REAUTEARU, the present priest of St. Mary's, Blackpally, and engaged himself in literary activities whenever he could find time to do so.

In 1891 he was appointed Chaplain of St. Patrick's Cathedral and he continued as Chaplain until about the end of December 1924 when he, for the first time, took ill. His chaplaincy during this long period was memorable and noteworthy in many ways. He was mainly instrumental in the construction of the St. Patrick's Orphanage. The extensions to the St. Patrick's Cathedral itself, which are of considerable dimensions, are the results of his painstaking and enthusiastic endeavour. The beautiful facade of the Cathedral with two graceful towers, the present arched roof in place of the old one, the two side chapels the altars of St. Patrick and Our Blessed Lady, are a memorial and a monument of his long and meritorious connection with the St. Patrick's. It was but fitting, therefore, that his remains were interred under the altar of Our Blessed Lady.

Father Tabard was not only a good priest but a noted worker in the cause of the poor and the sick, the humble and the lowly. The great work he did as Honorary Secretary and later as a Vice-President to the Friend-in-Need Society is well known to all.

Father Tabard was a restless soul. His activities knew no bounds. They recognized no limitations. His quest for truth was insatiable; his influence, his popularity, his zeal and enthusiasm and more than all his winsome art of successful beggary combined in a remarkable degree in bringing about the foundation of the Mythic Society. With Messrs. F. J. Richards and S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar as his chief collaborators, he started the idea of an institution in Bangalore where people of all castes could meet and discuss things. In May 1909 a few European and Indian residents in Bangalore (most of whom are fortunately still with us) believing that very much might be done and a vast amount of information might be obtained by combination and mutual assistance in such subjects as ethnology and history, founded the Mythic Society. A preliminary meeting was held in June 1909 and the Society was constituted.

The first annual address was delivered by the Vice-President Reverend Father Tabard—the first President being Dr. Morris Travers. As early as March 1912 Rev. Father Tabard, who was elected and continued as the President from 1910 onwards, began to apply himself to the work of collecting a valuable library for the work of the Society and a place where the members could meet and exchange ideas and thought. Financial difficulties did not damp the ardour of our President. His work in these respects was gaining increased support, and he was considered indispensable for the welfare of the Society. In proposing his election as President in 1913, Mr. W. P. Warburton said:—

“Father Tabard was one of the original founders of the Mythic Society and has been the President practically during the whole of its existence. He did not think that they would ever find a man more devoted to the interests of the Society than Father Tabard or one more fitted to preside over its destinies. That no doubt meant a great deal of additional work for the reverend gentleman and perhaps few could realize the amount of time the President of a Society like this must spend in order to make it a success. They were fortunate in having such a man in Father Tabard and he felt sure that he was voicing the feelings of every member of the Society in proposing that he be re-elected President for the coming sessions.”

Rev. F. Goodwill in seconding the motion said, “No one was more fitted intellectually or otherwise to be the head of the Society. He had been more active than any one else in promoting its welfare, but he thought that perhaps they wanted him still more for his good cheer and good heart, that had gone a long way towards the success of the Society.”

Alongside the exacting work as President of the Mythic Society, and amidst his other multifarious activities, Father Tabard found time for translating the “Brihatkatha”.

Honorary work so assiduously done in this manner could not long go unrewarded. He was the recipient in 1914 of the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal in recognition of a life devoted to religion, philanthropy and science. In his annual address in 1914 he made a stirring appeal to the members to study history. The history of the South had to be studied to know India, for North had undergone changes during a thousand years while manners and customs in the South had practically remained unchanged.

In 1914 in moving the election of the President, Sir Leslie Miller referred to Father Tabard in these words:—

“The proposal was in the nature of a formality; it was in fact a superfluous proposition. For instance, if he were to propose any other member as President, they would all say ‘we want Father Tabard’. He would not,

therefore, think of suggesting any other name so long as Father Tabard was willing to occupy the President's chair. In point of fact Father Tabard might well adopt the words of one of the kings of his country who, in a certain circumstance, had exclaimed, 'The State? I am the State!' Similarly, Father Tabard might well say: 'The Mythic Society? I am the Mythic Society!'

No other remarks were necessary to commend this resolution to the meeting, but there were a few reasons why Father Tabard should be re-elected. Firstly, there was his fine patriarchal appearance. Sir Leslie ventured to think that Father Tabard always had the learned look which fitted him for the position of President of a learned Society. No other could fill the position with so much distinction.

It was customary with many societies when about to elect a new leader for him to stand up and propound some plan of campaign or scheme of work. Father Tabard had very cleverly done this in his farewell address. Having heard that learned and eloquent discourse, no one would be able to say that he was a mere figure-head. On the other hand, his energies as President were only equalled by his persuasive tongue. And then there was the Society's Quarterly Journal which provided stimulating literary refreshment not only for the learned authors themselves, but also to Philistines like himself! His (the President's) was also the duty of the principal heckler, to start discussions and draw out the lecturers, and they all knew how well Father Tabard performed that part of his office.

The work of the Mythic Society went on apace in the meanwhile. Increase in membership, additions to the library for which the President presented his own handsome collection as a nucleus and contributors of note to the Journal, gained a name for the Mythic Society all over India.

Father Tabard had also succeeded in getting a site for building the "Daly Memorial Hall," the habitat of the Mythic Society: the foundation stone was laid by its patron H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore on 30th August 1916. It may be unnecessary to recall the memorable words of His Highness on that occasion. But I cannot help referring to one extract from His Highness' speech:—

"I learn that the Society gives its chief attention to researches connected with Mysore history and archæology, and I earnestly hope that when its objects become better known, the people of Mysore at large—not the learned few only—will begin to feel pride and interest in its work.

Much of the credit for the success of the Society and the project of this building is due to Father Tabard who has been its founder and mainstay. Without him and his enthusiasm for antiquarian research, the

Society would not have attained its present position. I have read the addresses by Father Tabard at the Annual Meetings of the Society for the last two years, and I am much struck by his love of Mysore and its traditions, and his appreciation of the magnificent relics of the bygone times found in the country."

In presiding over the Fifth Annual Meeting H. H. the Yuvaraja, in referring to the address of Father Tabard which was one of the most brilliant surveys of the work that lay before the Society, said :—

"It is not generally interesting, or at least I feel so, to listen to the dry catalogue of archæological discoveries, but under such exponents of the science as Father Tabard, you have seen how the results of these researches can be woven into charming and instructive narratives. The Rev. Father Tabard has traced for us the history and greatness of Mysore under the various dynasties and has shown in Mysore the homes of the schools of Hindu philosophy, and a distinctive style of architecture second in India only to the Moghul. He has created for some of us a new interest in Mysore; though we were vaguely conscious of it ourselves, yet he has made us feel more proud of our beloved country. May we hope that he will have the leisure as fully, as he has the talents and materials, for giving us in a fairly complete form the interesting story of this dear land of ours."

The Mythic Society was incorporated as a Society on the 12th of December 1916.

The Daly Memorial Hall was opened by H. H. the Yuvaraja on 25th July 1917. "With the realization of our most cherished hopes, namely a local habitat," said Father Tabard on this occasion, "we shall feel that not only has the Mythic Society a safe and bright future before it but that it will, with a habitation of its own, be better able to fulfil the primary intentions of its original founders."

In 1916, Sir M. Visvesvaraya in relation to the work of the Society, said : "The objects of the Society have been variously described on previous occasions. They are said to include the study of history, archæology, ethnology, philosophy and religions of India. The President to-day brushes aside all qualifications, and boldly asserts that the Society's chief aim is to build up the history of Mysore and of South India, and that all other studies merely subserve that prime object. We all agree in this; though many of us may lack opportunities or taste to take part in the actual studies, we are all intensely interested in the results of the Society's researches."

Copious extracts have been given from the presidential addresses as well as from the speeches of the Chairmen at several Annual Meetings in Vol. XV, No. 4, pages 302 to 311. Nevertheless we should be failing

in our duty if we do not refer a little more on this occasion to the work of the Mythic Society with Father Tabard as its President. Dewan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarti referred to Father Tabard as a President whose enthusiasm and energy were only equalled by his scholarship and abilities, while his qualities of head and heart enforced the love and admiration of one and all who came in contact with him. On another occasion Sir Leslie Miller remarked: "When we hear our President in his addresses and in his cross-examination of our lecturers at our readings, touch lightly and familiarly on all the abstruse subjects which we had discussed in our journals, I am filled with admiration, and it comes into my mind that if he is familiar with these deep things

Which are far too deep for me
Why, what a most
Particularly deep young man
That deep young man must be."

He also said that their President had all the qualities to guide the destinies of the Society—sympathy, tact, all required scholarly attainments and *certain* financial stability. He was not merely a man of words but of deeds as well. He can dream like other persons but unlike most persons he never rested till he had made them a reality.

On 15th November 1920 he was made a Member of the civil division of the most excellent "Order of the British Empire". Shortly after, the Mysore Durbar conferred on him the title of "Rajasabhabhushana". A congratulatory meeting was held in honour of the President on the 22nd November 1921 within the spacious precincts of the Daly Memorial Hall and addresses were presented to him in several languages. Father Tabard took advantage of that occasion to proclaim what was all along a fact that he considered himself a Mysorean.

He continued as President till 1925 being re-elected year after year. At the Annual Meeting in 1925 he was unanimously elected as the Life-President of the Mythic Society. But, alas! the Society was not privileged to enjoy this distinction for very long. Father Tabard, who first took ill about November 1924, under medical advice left for France for a short sojourn about June 1925; after recouping his health for some time he returned to Mysore in January 1926. His illness unfortunately did not enable him to take active part at the meetings of the Mythic Society. Nevertheless his interest and active work for the Society and its journal continued unabated till his death on the 2nd of July 1926.

A short appendix to this Memoir contains a list of the literary work of Father Tabard in connection with the Mythic Society. It should be

remembered that his travels and his annual addresses have to be added to that list. His "Essay on Gunadhya" and his tours to "Kapilavastu" and "Siam" deserve special mention.

I crave the indulgence of the reader for striking a personal note in this memoir : for, I feel the loss as more than personal to me. I have been in daily contact with Father Tabard for nearly 10 years and I can lay claim to have known him as perhaps few others may have done. I have sat at his feet and learnt from his lips, how to write, what to write, how to collect facts and put them together. His enthusiasm was infectious. As Dewan Bahadur Rajadharmaprabina K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar wrote to me on the morrow of his death : Father Tabard "was so full of vivacity and enthusiasm, and of a simple child-like earnestness towards things which attracted him, that it will take all of us who knew him, a long time to reconcile ourselves to his absence from the councils and conferences of the Mythic Society."

Father Tabard made the Mythic Society what it is to-day. We need only refer to the addresses he delivered at its Annual Meetings, to the speeches of the Chairmen at these Meetings, to the habitation and grounds where the Society is located, to its splendid library with his own private collection as a nucleus, to its reserve fund of over Rs. 10,000, to the large membership of the Society and last but not least to that excellent literary publication, the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. The patronage the Society enjoys is great : adequate grants are vouchsafed : contributors of note to the Journal and an enthusiastic band of workers for the Society have been secured. What memorial could be greater, grander or more splendid than the one which Father Tabard has made for himself !

The interest of Father Tabard in Mysore and its people was life-long and so well known. Was it not appropriate that our late President Father Tabard should have returned to Mysore from his native country to die in St. Martha's amongst the people he loved and with whom he lived ?

मिथिक् समाज एव टबाई गुरुः

टबाई गुरुरेव मिथिक् समाजः

LIST OF LITERARY WORKS BY FATHER TABARD.

1. Essay on Gunadhya and the Brihatkatha.
2. Sravanabelgola.
3. Talkad, the Burial City.
4. Tippu Sultan's Embassy to the French Court.
5. The Birth-place of Buddha.
6. Savandurg.
7. The Founder of Bangalore : Introduction,

8. Indian Tales, being the Preface of Professor Lacote's work translated.
9. Annual Addresses.

S. SRIKANTAIYA.

II.

THE death of the Rev. A. M. Tabard, Chaplain of the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Shoolay, Bangalore, removes one of the familiar figures of Bangalore Society, and leaves a void which would be difficult to fill. As a young priest he came to the St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, then in St. John's Hill, almost exactly about forty years ago, and I can recollect his taking the Junior F.A. Class in one part of Mathematics, a couple of years after he joined the College. In less than two years' time from then, he was called to the vacancy of Chaplainship of the Cathedral at Shoolay, which also involved the *ex-officio* duty of Chaplain to the Bishop of the Diocese.

This change took Father Tabard out of the ordinary sphere of the teacher to perhaps a wider and more influential one. Almost from the time that he became Chaplain of the Cathedral, his general interest widened and he began to play a larger part in the Society of Bangalore than before.

After some years, he came definitely into a wider sphere by his connection with two institutions for both of which he rendered invaluable services by work of a monumental character. He was almost the guiding-spirit of the Friend-in-Need Society, the good work of which during recent years was entirely due to his influence. From 1908 onwards he became identified with the Mythic Society for which he did devoted work all these years.

The Mythic Society had a small beginning and started with less than half a dozen members. Father Tabard became associated with it from its inception as the leading Foundation Member. He exhibited very keen interest in the affairs of the Society, and did work so heartily for it that he became the only man who was responsible for the activities of the Society. He had no doubt collaborators but he was the readiest to appreciate the value of their assistance, and it is his personality that stood foremost and secured for it at once influential support on the one side and the popularity on the other that it has ever since enjoyed.

His literary work as well as his enthusiasm was great and what was more, it was a catching enthusiasm which infused itself in those who worked with him, and stood the Society so well in the early years of its existence. The library was entirely his own to begin with, the building is the product of his efforts, and in one word the present prosperous condition of the Society is entirely owing to his enthusiasm and influence. The greatest testimony to his influence and work in the affairs of the Society is to be

found in the fact that those, who worked heartily with him and threw their heart and soul into the work, feel stunned by the calamity of his removal and count the loss heavy in regard to its future.

The late lamented Father was generous to a fault in acknowledging assistance rendered by others. The identity of the Mythic Society with Father Tabard, and Father Tabard with the Mythic Society, has long been established and continues to be an accepted fact. The Mythic Society stands a monument of his labour; but some kind of a memorial of his connection with, and his services to, the Society would, to say the least of it, be appropriate. If sufficient support should be forthcoming, the memorial can take several forms most pleasing to the soul of the departed.

May his soul rest in peace, and may the flavour of his unselfish work for the Society infuse those whose lot it is to continue the good work committed to their care!

S. KRISHNASWAMY IYENGAR.

. III.

AN eminent scholar of South India, particularly of Mysore History and Archæology, a powerful influence on the public life of those parts, and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society since 1910, Rev. Father A. M. Tabard passed away peacefully at St. Martha's Hospital in Bangalore, after a prolonged illness of about 18 months, in his sixty-third year on the 2nd of July 1926. The deceased belonged to the northern parts of France and came out to Bangalore, after a brilliant university career, as a professor, in the robes of a Roman Catholic priest, when he was still young. He was shortly afterwards appointed as Chaplain of St. Patrick's Cathedral where his services to the parishioners, by way of improvements, new constructions and the erection of the St. Patrick's Orphanage, were remarkable. His remains were carried to the Cathedral where a huge number of mourners including the British Resident in Mysore, the representatives of the Mythic Society and other high State Officers congregated. After the solemn obsequies were performed, the remains of the late veteran Parish Priest and Military Chaplain were interred close to the Altar of the Blessed Virgin.

The Mythic Society of Bangalore is the outcome of the joint efforts of Father Tabard and Mr. F. J. Richards (now in England). Father Tabard was its President ever since its inception and evinced great interest in its well-being and advancement. The respect that the Society now commands in South India, its present rank among the learned societies of the world, its affiliation to the Royal Asiatic Society, the magnificent building, the valuable library and the large funds it now possesses and the inclusion of learned scholars among its members are all due to the venerable old man,

He fostered the Society with paternal—nay, maternal—care to the last day of his life. He has made very valuable researches and his “Birthplace of Buddha” and his translation of “An Essay on Gunadhya and the Brihatkatha” are his monumental works. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has aptly said: “Without him (Father Tabard) and his enthusiasm for antiquarian research, the Society would not have attained its present position. I am much struck by his love of Mysore and its traditions, and his appreciation of the magnificent relics of the bygone times found in this country.” This has been followed by a further appreciation by H. H. the Yuvaraja on a subsequent occasion when he said, “Father Tabard is the Mythic Society, and the Mythic Society is Father Tabard”.

The late Father Tabard was a recipient of the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the first class and held the Mysore Durbar title of “Rajasabhabhushana” (Ornament of the King’s Court). As a citizen of good repute, high ideals, charitable disposition, lofty intellect, sound principles and judgment, and sympathetic attitude to one and all, he was known all over. Mysore and South India mourn for the loss of one of their best friends, well-wishers and learned men; and this feeling of sorrow is felt by Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, Muhammadans, rich and poor, old and young, all alike.

MALALY VENKATESIA.

IV.

IT is difficult for me to clothe my ideas and thoughts in the language of convention, on this occasion. I am so overpowered by a sense of loss, and I owe so much to Father Tabard. Two persons who have shaped and moulded my whole career are Father Vissac and Father Tabard.

As for Father Vissac, he is only a memory to the present generation, except perhaps to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Messrs. T. Satyaraj Chetty, T. Thambu Chetty, Dr. Amritraj and myself.

I was a student of Father Tabard so far back as 1891, in the St. Joseph’s College, in the prematriculation class and he took us in Physics and Chemistry. About the same time, however, the College lost the professor on his translation as Chaplain of St. Patrick’s. The kindness of the professor for his erst-while students continued and we felt quite at home in his apartments as when he was at College. As one such, I always went to his rooms for help and guidance. I most gratefully remember his love and affection to me. I well recollect the occasion, now decades ago, when I had to leave Bangalore, to join the Maharaja’s College at Mysore. He encouraged me in my studies and extended to me help in various ways—financial and other. I used to be writing to him every week from Mysore and he kindly kept in touch with me.

If I were going to Madras, I was asked to see him on the way at Bangalore. He would entrust me with a commission to purchase books—his thirst for knowledge was insatiable—and whatever remained after the purchase, the unused cash was always left to me : he would not receive it.

When I was staying at Mysore, one constant inquiry was about my health, how Mysore suited me, how malaria which was attacking me pretty frequently was tackled by me, and I was always encouraged to push on with my studies. I was even advised to go back to Bangalore, my revered patron undertaking board and lodging for me. How well I remember the keen pleasure with which I obtained the permission of my parents and came and settled down to study at Bangalore!

It is a matter of common knowledge that male teachers are rigorously excluded from the Good Shepherd Convent—to which girls and young ladies from Christian families of all grades, both European and Indian, from the Presidency are sent for education. Father Tabard's anxiety for my welfare was so great and his opinion of me was so good that, without my knowledge, he had persuaded the Mother Superior of the Convent to engage me as a tutor in English and History for two periods daily and he surprised me one afternoon by telling me that I should join the Convent and enter upon my duties as a tutor from the following morning. I am glad of the opportunity he afforded me, for under my instruction, two of the nun-teachers took their Arts degree and one of them to-day is the Lady-Principal of the Convent College.

Acts of sympathy and kindly generosity flowed from him like water from a spring. People of his parish and of other parishes began to approach him, from the early times of his chaplaincy, for help. Rev. Father Lobo was put in charge of funds by Father Tabard to distribute aid to the needy week after week and this charity continued to his death. Under his magnetic influence and careful supervision, the Friend-in-Need Society of Bangalore came to be a Rich House, rich in the contentment of its inmates and rich by the presence and by the blessings of its good priest. The Hon'ble Mr. H. V. Cobb, Resident in Mysore, though not a believer in the indispensability of any man for any work, referred to Father Tabard as indispensable to the development of Bangalore.

Orientalists of repute including Mons. Joveau Dubreuil and Mons. Felix Lacote had the highest regard for Father Tabard. Mons. Clemenceau was in close touch and association with him when in Mysore.

Father Tabard's name has been constantly associated with successful beggary. One instance will suffice. The late Col. Desaraj Urs once offered a pair of mules to him but Father Tabard laughingly remarked that a cash equivalent to the Mythic Society would be most welcome instead. The next



day the gallant Colonel gave a pleasant surprise to him by sending the pair of mules along with a cheque for Rs. 150 for the Society.

Father Tabard had a kind of partiality for Buddhism and Buddhistic literature. His visits to traditional centres of Buddhism—Bodh-Gaya, Kapilavastu, Rummin-dei, Sarnath, Burma and Siam—were due to this.

To me personally, he was father, mother, friend, philosopher and guide. May divine peace rest on his soul.

K. DEVANATHA CHARIAR.

References.

MYSORE UNIVERSITY;
SENATE MEETING,
31st July 1926.

At the Special Senate Meeting of the Mysore University, the following reference was made by Rajatantrapravina DR. SIR BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, Vice-Chancellor :—

Before I proceed to the business of the House, it is my mournful duty to refer to the sad death of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father Tabard, who was for many years a valued member of the Senate, and Chairman of its Board of Studies in French. The Rev. Father was a remarkable personality, rich, genial, humane, and he had a warm love for the people and the country alike and for their past as well as present. That feeling was reciprocated with equal warmth by the people of Mysore. Latterly he had become almost an institution and a tradition in Mysore, among the memorable institutions and traditions which he so loved to study. He was also a dynamic force, and had the instinct of the builder. He built a Church, the Church of St. Patrick, for the community of which he was patron, and another institution dedicated to learning, the Mythic Society, which worthily aspires to fill the place of the Asiatic Society of South India. He belongs to the noble band of Roman Catholic Missionaries who in South Indian history have so often identified themselves in their lives with the people among whom they worked.

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In a letter written to the Secretary referring to the President's death, Rajadharmapravina Dewan Bahadur K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR says :

The news of Father Tabard's passing away came upon me with a sudden shock. He was so full of vivacity and enthusiasm, and of a simple child-like earnestness towards things which attracted him, that it will take all of us who knew him a long time to reconcile ourselves to his absence from the councils and conferences of the Mythic Society.

SOME SOUTH INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS.

BY K. T. NARAYANAN, ESQ.

FOLK superstition constitutes a most important aspect of South Indian folklore and offers a fertile and interesting field of investigation for the student of the primitive culture of the people of Southern India. This is shared by most of the Hindu inhabitants of Southern India, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins alike, with a few local differences of a negligible nature. Some of the most important of these amusing and interesting superstitions are noticed below.

I. The Evil-Eye.

First and foremost of these is the strongly rooted notion regarding the evil-eye and its baneful effects. It is well known to all students of primitive culture that this belief is not confined to this country alone but is shared by all people of the world, wherever primitive customs and beliefs have survived to the present times. The main idea underlying this superstition, so far as South Indian people are concerned, consists in the notion that certain persons in the society are born with an evil pair of eyes and that such persons exert, involuntarily, a baneful influence upon the prospects of the persons and objects they see. The origin of this notion is buried in obscurity and no attempt to get at any information on this point succeeds as the average village-elder in Southern India is grossly ignorant on the subject and also because he hates to discuss subject like this in any spirit of light-heartedness as he thinks such inquiries involve. All that we are able to gather from such inquiries is that persons born of mothers whose longings during the period of pregnancy for certain objects remain for one reason or other unsatisfied are, as a rule, born with the evil-eye. It is also believed that children born with their eyes wide open at the time of birth are also invariably evil-eyed.

Many ingenious devices are adopted by people to counteract the disastrous effects of the evil-eyes. There is practically no object, it is believed, which the baneful effects of evil-eyed persons will not affect. The young children of the family, the newly married couple, the very cows in the shed, the bird in the cage, the vegetables and flowers in the garden, and the milk boiling in the kitchen, the houses under construction—all these and a number of others have to be protected against the influences of the evil-eyed.

One of the most common and widely adopted measures that is practised to counteract the effects of evil-eye on children by every mother in the Tamil

As we go to press, we regret to learn of the sad demise of two of our valued Members : **Mr. D. M. Narasinga Rao**, the late Dewan of Indore and **Mr. B. Venkoba Rao**, Deputy Commissioner of Bangalore. The former took great interest in the progress of the Society in the earlier years and was the Secretary of the Reception Committee in connection with the opening ceremony of the Daly Memorial Hall. The latter was one of our most enthusiastic members and continued to be a member of the Committee from the past few years. We beg to tender our respectful condolences to the members of the bereaved families.

districts* is to wave a handful of chillies, salt or street-dust before the children every evening and burn it subsequently. In case of the sudden sickness of a child the elders in a Brahmin household severely take the mother to task for not having performed this ceremony regularly. Another familiar measure is to pass a solution of chunam and turmeric around the person supposed to be under the spell of the evil-eyes and throw it into the street. The bride and bridegroom in a Brahmin marriage in South India have to undergo repetitions of this ceremony dozens of times a day, as they are supposed to be peculiarly susceptible to the evil-eyes during the marriage days. Children are purposely not well-dressed out of fear of this danger and whenever they have to be done so, care is taken to disfigure a part of the dress or to put a black paint on a prominent part in the face, to divert the attention of the evil-eyed person from the beautiful appearance of the child.

That the influence of the evil-eye extends in popular imagination to inanimate Nature is evident from the measures adopted to protect the houses from this danger. A familiar measure is to place a hideous representation of a legendary hero such as Bhimasen or a semi-divine personage such as Hanuman, the great Monkey-God, in a prominent part of the building. Another measure is to suspend a *pushani* fruit,—a species of wild-gourd in the gate with profuse red dots until the construction of the house is complete. Sweet-meat bazaars in all towns in South India used to be similarly protected though the practice is now rapidly growing out of vogue.

Vegetable gardens are also under the perpetual baneful effects of the evil-eyes of the passers-by and are invariably protected by the placing on a prominent place a black pot with profuse white dots which first attracts one's attention.

II. Omens.

Next to the evil-eye may be mentioned the superstition with regard to the omens and their observance. The chief idea behind this belief is that certain persons, animals and birds exert an adverse or favourable influence upon the enterprise of any one if they cross him in the early part of his journey or at the commencement. For example, if a widow happens to come across one who has just commenced his journey or if a cat runs from left to right before him, he may rest assured that he will meet with a disastrous failure in the object of his mission. So strong is the belief in this superstition that it is a familiar sight to see persons waiting for several hours in the Brahman villages in anticipation of a good omen to help their enterprise. Among the good omens are also included the sight of an umbrella, flag, sugar-cane, fly-whisk, milk, toddy, bull, music, fruits, etc. Among very good

* It is a common experience in the Karnataka country also.—Ed.

omens the following are recognized—the braying of a donkey, the sound of the Vedas, the neighing of a horse or the sight of a corpse. The sight of an oil-monger or a goldsmith coming in the direction of any one in the commencement of the journey is interpreted as one of the worst possible omens. It is rather amusing to note that, while a corpse coming in front of one is thought a very good omen indicating immediate success to the individual starting upon the journey, the sight of a Brahmin coming in front of one is considered one of the worst omens, indicative of failure of business.

III. The Lizard.

Another point of interest is that the lizard is associated in the eyes of the Hindu of South India, particularly the Brahmins, as possessing remarkable powers of foretelling future events. It can be termed the veritable domestic astrologer. In every household, its twitterings are observed and critically interpreted according to the position, the hour and the day when the event occurred. Usually, the local expert in the art of reading these twitterings is approached and consulted. The arrival of a guest, the impending disaster in a family, the prospect of early fulfilment of one's desire, are thus ascertained easily. The accidental contact of the lizard with any part of the human body is also supposed in the popular belief to indicate the coming events. When the lizard falls on a person's head it is interpreted as indicating family rupture or misunderstanding; if, on the other hand, it should happen to fall on the right shoulder, it is interpreted as an indication of the coming prosperity and so on. There is a regular treatise on the interpretation of the twitterings of the lizard as well as its contact with human beings and every village in South India boasts of more than one expert who could critically interpret them.

SITUATION OF RAVANA'S LAMKA ON THE EQUATOR.

BY V. H. VADER, ESQ., B.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.

AT the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Madras in 1925, Sirdar Madhavarao Kibesaheb submitted a paper claiming that the Lamkā of Rāvana described in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa was located on a peak of the Amarkantak mountain, which is an offshoot of the Vindhya and from which starts the Narmadā, which divides the continent of India into two parts, Northern and Southern. Professor Jacobi of Bonn admitted that this theory was superior to his, as regards the location of Lamkā somewhere in Assam, when he edited Paumchariya which is a Jain version of the story of Rāmāyaṇa. It is not a very old work. So also is the Dasharatha Jātaka which preserves the Buddhist version. The same topic formed the subject of a paper which the Sirdarsaheb read at the Session of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919; but the paper submitted to the Third Oriental Conference concludes with a remark that "The local information now supplied should leave no doubt that Rāvana's Lamkā was in Central India".

Leaving aside the above two theories, *viz.*, Assam and Central India we may mention here the almost axiomatic theory that Ceylon was Lamkā and Lamkā is Ceylon. Many oriental scholars stick to this theory as a dead certainty.

We, however, propose to submit to the reader a new theory regarding the situation of Lamkā, which is supported by more weighty and reliable evidence collected from our ancient Sanskrit Literature and mostly from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. This fourth theory may be thus summed up :—"Lamkā was the capital of the big island known as Rākshasa Dwīpa situated in the midst of the southern ocean. This Lamkā was situated on the equator or the middle part of the earth. The distance between the southern extremity of India and the Rākshasa Dwīpa or Lamkā was a hundred yojanas, *i.e.*, about seven hundred miles."

Firstly, we propose to quote authoritative evidence to show that Ceylon and Lamkā Island were not the same; nor was the Lamkā city situated in Ceylon.

(1) Simhala Dwīpa is mentioned in Vanaparva, and Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. Greek writers called Ceylon by the name Taprobane (Tamra Parna). Sahadeva, the Pāndava conqueror of Southern India, is said to have

conquered Tāmra Dwīpa, Rāmaka Parvat and despatched envoys to demand tribute to the king Bibhīṣhaṇa of Lamkā. This Tāmra Dwīpa is of course the ancient name of Ceylon.

(2) In Vanaparva, Chapter 51, it is narrated that Shri Krishna went to visit the Pāṇdavas when they went into exile. Seeing the deplorable condition of the Pāṇdavas Krishna gave vent to his feelings of anger against the Kauravas and is said to have expressed as follows:—"The prosperity of Dharma Rāja at the time of the Rājasūya Yajna was so great that kings of all countries in India were offering services then to Dharma Rāja in any low capacity whatever not even minding their position or prestige. The kings of Simhala, Barbar, Mlechha and Lamkā were doing the work of serving food to the guests." Here the author of Mahābhārata mentions Simhala and Lamkā as separate kingdoms.

(3) Next in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chapter 55, verses 20 to 29, the Kūrma Vibhāga mentions the names of the countries of Southern India. Among the lists we read:—

लंका कालाजिनाश्चैव शैलिका निकटास्तथा ॥२६॥

दक्षिणाः कौरुषा ये च ऋषिका तापसाश्रमाः

ऋषभाः सिंहलाश्चैव तथा काञ्ची निवासिनः ॥२७॥

These countries are said to be to the right side of the Kūrma. Here also we find Lamkā and Simhala as separate countries.

(4) Shrimat Bhāgavata, 5th Skāṇḍha, Chapter 19, verses 29-30, has enumerated the eight minor islands of Jambu Dwīpa. It is said that they are the उपद्वीप's of Jambu Dwīpa.

जम्बुद्वीपस्य च राजन्नुपद्वीपानष्टौ हैक उपादिशन्ति सगरात्मजै रश्वान्वेषे इमां महीं परितो निखनद्भि-
रुपकल्पितान् ॥२९॥ तद्यथा स्वर्णप्रस्थश्चन्द्रशुक्ल आवर्तनो रमणको मंदरहारिणः पांचजन्यः सिंहलो लंकेति ॥३०॥

Here it is clear that the seventh उपद्वीप was Simhala and the eighth is Lamkā.

(5) Varāha Mihirāchārya, the great astronomer, has mentioned in his बृहत्संहिता, Chapter XIV, named Kūrma Vibhāga, the names of the countries in Southern India. The verse 11 begins thus:—

लंका कालाजिन सौरिकर्ण.....काञ्ची

मरुची पट्टन चेर्यायक सिंहला ऋषभाः ॥

It is stated further that the names are given in order commencing from left to right. Anyhow we can say this much that Lamkā and Simhala were away from each other and that Rishabha was situated between them.

(6) There are many passages in Sanskrit dramas and poetical works stating that Ceylon and Lamkā were two different islands. At least it can be definitely said that no reference from Sanskrit works has been yet

offered which expressly says that Ceylon is the ancient Lamkā. And it is quite likely that such a reference cannot possibly be discovered. We give below one of the passages in support of our statement from *Bāla Rāmāyana*, a Sanskrit drama in ten acts by Poet Rājashekhara. He lived in the ninth century A.C. He is said to have travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and his information may safely be believed to be quite correct regarding the geographical details he has offered. From the passage quoted below it will be clear that he meant for certain that Simhala (Ceylon) was different from Lamkā. For example in the third act we find that the drama named "Sitā-Svayamwar" was being staged before Rāvana, the king of Lamkā, for his amusement. Among the kings assembled for the acquisition of the hand of Sita in marriage, there is the king of Simhala, named Rājashekhara. Rāvana gives him a taunt and says:—

रावण :—सिंहलपते, किमिदं संदिह्यते । न च संदेहदेहो वार व्रत निर्वाहः ।

This means, if it means anything, that Rāvana and the lord of Simhala were different personages.

Again, in the tenth act while returning from Lamkā to Ayodhyā with Sita in the Pushpaka aeroplane, Rāma first showed the city of Lamkā and the place where he fought with Rāvana. Bibhīshana was also their companion in the aeroplane. He further showed her the Simhala Dwīpa on being questioned about it by Sitā :—

सीता :—अखंडिता खण्डल कोदण्डमण्डलप्रतिरूपः कतरः पुनरेष उद्देशः ।

बिभीषण :—पश्यस्यग्रे जलधिपरिखं मंडलं सिंहलानां

चित्रोत्तंसं मणिमयभुवा रोहणेनाचलेन ।

दूर्वा कांडच्छविषु चतुरं मंडनं यद्वधूनाम्

गात्रश्चांभो भवति गलितं रत्नतां शुक्तिगर्भम् ॥

The very important thing to be noted in the above verse is that Bibhīshana does not mention anything about Lamkā or himself in the above description of Simhala or Ceylon, because they had all left Lamkā in the background and details about the same had been given to Sitā already. It clearly appears from the above verse that Simhala was a smaller island and the poet means that Lamkā was situated to the south-west of Simhala.

If Lamkā and Simhala were two different islands we must find out the exact situation of Lamkā.

It is stated above that Lamkā was at a distance of a hundred yojanas from the southern limits of India. The island was hundred yojanas in length and forty yojanas in breadth. The dimensions are certainly not applicable to Simhala. Professor S. B. Dikshit, the author of *Bhārata Varshiya Bhū Varnana* says "That Ceylon is Lamkā"; but the distance of a hundred

yojanas as given in Rāmāyaṇa puzzles him and he seems to be uncertain about the identification.

Before we trace the path taken up by Hanumān when he first went to Lamkā in search of Sītā, let us see whether there is any other evidence to prove that Lamkā was away from Ceylon.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa, Bhuvan Vinyāsa, Chapter 48, the author describes the six isles round about Jambu Dwīpa as follows :—

(i) Anga Dwīpa. (ii) Yava Dwīpa. (iii) Malaya Dwīpa. (iv) Shankha Dwīpa. (v) Kusha Dwīpa. (vi) Varāha Dwīpa. The third in the above list, viz., Malaya Dwīpa is further described in verses 20 to 30 of the same chapter. It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there and the population consists of several classes of Mlechhas. There is a great mountain named Malaya Parvata containing silver mines. Heavenly bliss is obtained on the mountain on every Parva or on Amavasya day. The famous Trikūta mountain is also situated in this island. The mountain is very extensive and has several very beautiful valleys and summits. The great city called Lamkā is founded on one of the slopes of this mountain. Its length is hundred yojanas while its breadth is thirty yojanas. To the east of this island lies a great Shiva temple in a holy place called Gokarṇa. The above description is clear enough to enable us to infer that Lamkā Puri was on the mountain Trikūta which was situated in the third isle Malaya Dwīpa, one of the six Upa-Dwīpas of Jambu Dwīpa. This Malaya Dwīpa is nothing else but the present Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The Maldives are situated on the equator.

The above inference is fully corroborated and supported by the description of the situation of Lamkā as given by the great astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarāchārya, a resident of Halebid in Karnāṭaka (born 1037 Shaka or 1115 A.D.). He writes in verse 17 of भुवनकोश of गोलध्याय, a work on mathematics :—

लंका कुमध्ये यमकोटिरस्याः प्राक् पश्चिमे रोमकपट्टनं च ।

अधस्ततः सिद्धपुरं सुमेरुः सौम्येऽथ यामे वडवानलश्च ॥१७॥

The above verse means Lamkā is on or about the equator. Astronomers call the equatorial region by the name Niraksha, i.e. 0° Latitude Desha. In the same chapter in verses 43-49, it is stated that Lamkā Puri was on the equator and that there was a small difference in the longitudes of Avanti (Ujjain) and Lamkā. At least such was the firm belief of Bhāskarāchārya. The longitude of Avanti is 75°—75'.

Now let us see whether the description about the situation of Lamkā in the Rāmāyaṇa adds support to the above statement of Bhāskarāchārya.

Sugrīva, the all-India traveller *par excellence*, while mentioning the geographical details to the south of the Kāveri says that (किष्किधा कांड, सर्ग ४१, श्लो. १५-१८) “After crossing the Mahānadi Tāmraparṇī which embraces the ocean as a young maiden, the golden gate of Pāndya Desh (कवाटं पांड्यानाम्) is to be reached and also the sea coast. The sea will have to be crossed over.” :—

ततः समुद्रसायथ संप्रधार्यार्थं निश्चयम् ।

अगस्त्येनान्तरे तत्र सागरे विनिवेशितः ॥१९॥

चित्रसानुनगः श्रीमान्महेंद्रः पर्वतोत्तमः ।

जातरूपमयः श्रीमान् अवगाढो महार्णवम् ॥२०॥

These verses describe clearly that this Mahendra mountain is different from the one in the Kalinga province and that a side of this had entered in the ocean southwards and was immersed in the waters of the ocean. Further on in verse 23 we read (द्वीपस्तस्यापरे पारे शतयोजन विस्तृतः) that on the western side of this mountain at the other extremity, lies an island which extends over a hundred yojanas and in verse 24 सहि देशस्तु वध्यस्य रावणस्य दुरात्मनः १; nothing can be more clear and we may safely infer that the abode of Rāvana known as राक्षसद्वीप with its capital Lamkā was in the westerly direction from the कवाट of पांड्यदेश or in other words, the southern extreme point on the coast of India. Simhala or Ceylon thus fails to answer the most crucial point of the above description.

In the same Kānda, Sarga 60; verse 7, Sampāti says about the mountain where he along with the search party of Hanumān were seated before Hanumān flew over to Lamkā :—दक्षिणस्योदधेस्तीरे विन्ध्योऽयमिति निश्चितः. It was from the top of this mountain that Māruti took his gigantic leap into the sky with a view to reach the island of Rāvana.

The identification of पांड्यानां कवाटं with कवाटपुरम् or कपाटपुरम् (Tamil) is an intelligent discovery by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., the well-known orientalist of Madras and author of “The Beginnings of South Indian History” (Page 63).

The *Arthashastra* of Chānakya has also referred to ताम्रपर्णी नदी and the Pāndya Kawāta (Page 86, Shāma Sāstri's translation of अर्थशास्त्र). Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says “This पांड्यानां कवाटं, a doorway of the Pandyas, is a fine commentary on the कवाटं पांड्यानां of the Rāmāyaṇa. The commentator of *Arthashastra* explains it as a mountain known as Malaya Koti in the Pandya country. It is rather of doubtful propriety that a place where pearls are found should be referred to as a mountain. It seems much more likely that the expression पांड्य कवाटं means the doorway of entry into the Pāndya country

from the sea and the Malaya Koti of the commentator, therefore, would then be the promontory where the Western Ghats dips into the sea." (*Vide The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 68, N.)

The above details regarding the doorway of the Pāndya Desh clearly give us the idea that the southern cape of India, *viz.*, Cape Comorin, is the place meant here; for near this point the Mahendra mountain has dipped into the sea. From the details of the geography of south India as given by Sugrīva we are entitled to infer that Rākshasa Dwīpa, the abode of राक्षस, was situated to the west of this mountain range.

We have several authorities to prove that Lamkā was drowned into the ocean owing to agitations of the waters soon after Rāma went back to Ayodhyā after the fight.

The present Māldives cover up the same position which once was covered by the Rakshasa Dwīpa. It extended from 6° North Latitude down to 1° south of the equator lengthwise while its breadth was from 73½° to 76° West Longitude.

When the island was thus going under sea and being uninhabitable, some of the inhabitants might have come to colonize the ancient Tāmra Dwīpa or Tāmraparṇi, which was afterwards called the Simhala Dwīpa or Ceylon.

Even the geologists maintain that before the fourth millennium of the era of Christ, there existed a big continent in the Indian Ocean. Its extent lay from the south of Africa, eastward towards the south of America, to the south of India. In the course of time this big continent became immersed in the waters and what portions we have now such as Malaya Dwīpa, Sychellis, Rodrigues, Chagos, Mauritius, Madagascar, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Ascension, Falkland, Graham, West Antartica, etc., are nothing but the mountain tops or plateaus of the old big continent. The Malaya Dwīpa or Maldives is the site of the Rākshasa Dwīpa of Rāvana with its capital Lamkā Puri.

DAKSHA *versus* SIVA, OR, KARMA *versus* JNANA.

BY K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, ESQ., B.A.

THE subject-matter or argument of this paper could very aptly have been inserted in my previous contribution under the heading "The Age of the First Manu (*Svâyambhuva*) or, The Antiquity of the Heretical (*Pākhanda*) Schools" published in the Mythic Society's Journal for July 1925, but since it was not, the same or a connected discourse is continued here under a new headline.

Both Daksha and Siva were born of Brahmá, the Creator, the latter first, and the former afterwards. They were related to each other as the father-in-law and the son-in-law as Siva's first wife, *Sati*, was the daughter of Daksha who himself was the son-in-law of Manu *Svâyambhuva* and who, therefore, expected respectful behaviour from Siva although the latter was one of the three exalted divinities equal in status and power to Brahmá and Vishnu ; self-satisfied and above the social rules of conduct or etiquette ; and embodying in himself the Supreme Spirit that pervades the universe. Daksha, on the other hand, was the head of a Theocracy, proud of his birth, position, power and influence in the worldly affairs. Thus they stood far apart by nature and habit, as the two poles, the one faithfully following the worldly sacrificial course (*Karma*), and the other neglecting all ceremonial observances and living a spiritual holy life amidst such surroundings as were loathsome to the ordinary man of the world, but very congenial to one of real superhuman wisdom (*Jnana*). These two rival characters with their followers, and Brahmá and Vishnu reconciling them, play the prominent part in our drama the scenes of which are described in detail in *Adhyayas* 2—7 of *Skandha* IV of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Let us, therefore, study its plot critically here.

Daksha entered the grand sacrificial assembly of the old Patriarchs (*Visvasṛies*) held somewhere about Prayag (Allahabad) and was welcomed by the priests who all rose to receive him. Brahmá and Siva did not stir but remained passive observers. To the former, his father, Daksha paid his dutiful respects, but at the disrespectful omission of salutation on the part of the latter, who was his son-in-law besides, he took offence and felt seriously angry ; and in his fury, Daksha addressed the assembly abusing Siva in vile language describing him as an unclean outcaste who wilfully neglected all the conventions of respectable society and violated likewise all rules of good conduct, who habitually dwelt on the grounds where the corpses were burnt,

and among the ghosts, demons, hobgoblins and other evil spirits, and occasionally wandered thereforth quite naked like a mad man with dishevelled hair, laughing and crying now and then, wearing ashes, skulls, bones and other remains gathered from the cremation ground ; and who was, therefore, unfit to move in good society and unworthy of high connections and consequently of the hands of his own fair daughter (Sati) which had been given to him in marriage on Brahmá's persuasion—an act which he had to regret remorsefully now at this time :—then he cursed Siva to the effect that the latter should not be accorded a share, as among the *devas*, of what would be offered in the sacrifices and immediately left the assembly in disgust and went home straight. The followers of Siva could not brook this insulting attack and curse directed against their master, and their chief Nandeesvara, flushed with anger, rose to address the assembly, heaping vile curses on Daksha and his followers which were as follows :—(1) Daksha having attached all importance to the perishable material body which distinguishes man from man, or, one thing from another, abused, insulted, and cursed his innocent son-in-law Siva, and would, therefore, ever remain blinded by their false appearances of plurality, not perceiving their underlying real unity or identity ; and further, seeking worldly pleasures, deceived by the Vedic exaggerating advertisement of the rites and observances and thus following the *Karmaic* course, he would fall an easy prey to the charms of the fair sex, lose self-control and emerge goat-headed to boot. (2) The priests who adopted his views having been captivated by the same theory of sacrifice would follow the same course ; living here as beggars earning their livelihood by learning and priestcraft and thus undergoing the rounds or the cycle of births and deaths forever in this world. These curses extremely irritated the priests ; in turn, one of whom, Bhrigu, uttered still more violent and inescapable curses against the followers of Siva (described as the lord of the evil spirits—*Bhūtarāt*), who were accordingly to become *Pakhandins* (heretics) opposed to correct authority and right course, unclean, wearing plaited hair, ashes and bones ; and in whose religious observances liquor would play the prominent part of the divinity ; because they despised the Vedic authority and Brahmánhood which, engaged in the services of Vishnu, had laid down the golden rules of life and conduct for different classes of people (*Varnāśrama-dharma*) and thereby maintained the world in order as it were. At this stage of mutual altercations and recriminations Siva rose and went out looking a little dejected at the horrible prospect of mutual quarrel which would eventually lead to the ruin and destruction of both. The assembly, too, dispersed after the conclusion of the sacrifice.

This open rupture between the father-in-law (Daksha) and the son-in-law

Siva) which, in fact, was a deep dogmatic schism as will be seen more clearly later on, continued unhealed for a long time down till the reign of king Prāchīnabarhis (who, as has been stated in my previous paper above referred to, was, at first, an enthusiastic follower and a staunch patron of the Vedic sacrificial course but afterwards, on Devarshi Narada's advice, turned to the path of knowledge and wisdom leading to the final emancipation of the soul), when Daksha, installed as the head of the Patriarchs (*Prajapathis*) started a grand sacrifice known as '*Brihaspatisava*' which attracted a large crowd of inquisitive visitors, besides the invited guests and functionaries. Sati also went there though uninvited and even warned and prohibited by her husband Siva, on account of Daksha's ill-feeling towards him openly exhibited by public insult and abuse on a similar occasion before, and also anticipating her ill-treatment and other untoward incidents which, however, happened exactly as apprehended. Daksha did not take even a casual notice of his daughter Sati's presence there, and she became so much offended by this ill-treatment that she did not return home but burnt herself in Yogic fire then and there in the presence of all assembled to witness or to participate in the grand ceremony. But before burning her body, she made a grand public speech addressed to her father in which she drew a clear and striking contrast between him and her husband and also between the two rival schools of thought and conduct to which they respectively belonged, and cleverly depicted their respective characteristics and attributes to the advantage of the latter. The following is the gist of her learned discourse:—"Siva was Pure Spirit equally disposed to all, free from personal likes and dislikes, above all passions and prejudices, careless of his appearances, dress and surroundings and, in short, completely detached from the world, and yet its master, soul-force and driving power, and so receiving homages from Brahmá and others seeking pleasures of this world, or eternal release therefrom. Daksha, on the other hand, was no more than an ordinary mortal being proud of his descent, wealth and social status, subject to the influence of jealousy and other evil passions and doing, in blind belief, such deeds as were declared in the holy Scriptures as good for attainment of worldly happiness, or in other words, a prominent figure in the society and a vain man of the busy world. Two rival courses were prescribed by the Vedic authorities one, worldly—doing good deeds—and the other unworldly—ascetic, renouncing all worldly obligations and connections. Siva was the Supreme Spirit above all the rules of conduct. She, his wife, could and would no longer retain her body—her flesh and blood—inherited from her father Daksha who was a vile maligner of that Supreme Being, Siva, and so would give up her ghost at once."

The attendants of Siva who had followed Sati on her visit to her father's house having been very much infuriated by this tragic incident, were out to avenge her death by infliction of severe punishments on the members of the sacrificial party, but were defeated and driven out by certain divine spirits invoked by the priest, Bhrigu; Nārada conveyed the news to Siva who, in his violent rage, created a terrible Being like himself and sent him out with his attendants and with orders for complete annihilation of the whole party with their paraphernalia, equipments and arrangements. They accordingly set out and carried out the order. Daksha's head was severed from the body (trunk); injuries, more or less severe, were inflicted on some of the prominent priests who had taken part in, encouraged or appreciated Daksha's first wanton and unprovoked attack on Siva; the sacred fires and precincts were polluted; all buildings burnt and the grand sacrifice was thus put a stop to by force. All this happened, it will be remembered, at a time when King Prāchīnabarhis ruled the realm and the sacrificial rites and performances received much encouragement and support.

Having foreseen what would happen, neither Brahmá nor Vishnu honoured the grand ceremonial occasion with his presence. The *devas*, on the other hand, having been wounded and defeated by the followers of Siva in the fray, went to Brahmá to complain of it. The latter severely censured them for their impertinent, disrespectful and insulting behaviour towards Siva whose divine serenity was much perturbed by their abuse and denial of sacrificial share, and told them plainly that the only way of redress and reparation lay in his pleasure and pardon which they should humbly seek and obtain. So they all went to the holy Mount Kailas where Siva was dwelling and saw him seated under a large shady banyan tree (*Vata*), calm and serene, attended by such saintly worshippers and his own friend Kubera, the king of the Yakshas, and practising Yogic austerities, but going occasionally abroad on foot only for doing good to the world outside which he loved so much and disinterestedly; wearing all his distinguishing marks—ashes, plaited hair, stick, hide and crescent—and seated on a bed of *kusa* grass in Yogic posture and imparting to Nārada among other sages the true knowledge of Eternal Reality (Brahman). After mutual salutations Brahmá spoke first addressing Siva as the one Supreme Deity controlling and directing the course of the world, and requesting him kindly to pardon the omissions and commissions of the ignorant worldly men, to restore life and missing parts to Daksha and his priests and to permit the sacrifice to be continued and concluded with what remained of the sacrificial preparations which would be the share of Siva who, much pleased in his turn by these humble representations and prayers, granted all these requests. Thus Daksha got an artificial head of a goat—a derisive

allusion, no doubt, to the slaughter of the goats in the sacrifices—and the priests had their missing parts replaced by others.

Before the sacrifice was started again a special purificatory offering was made to Vishnu who was then pleased to appear in person on the scene. The various sections of the sacrificial functionaries, shareholders and visitors assembled there saluted him in turn begging forgiveness for their respective sins of omissions and commissions; and after due performance of the ceremony Vishnu well satisfied of his share of it, in acknowledgment, said, with special emphasis, that Himself, Brahmá and Siva were but different forms of one Supreme God, assumed for different purposes, there was no distinction among themselves and only the ignorant would find differences which was not real. Thus all sections and all the parties were mutually reconciled. Siva had his share in the sacrifice, and the grand ceremony was properly concluded to the satisfaction of all.

No reader will fail to see in the above story a dogmatic schism developed to a cleavage, but at last patched up though temporarily. There was, on the one hand, the *Karmakanda* or the ritualistic school represented by Daksha and his followers who had deep-rooted faith in the Vedic rites and other ceremonies and observances prescribed with regard to the social status (caste or *varna*) and stages of life (*asramā*). Opposed to them stood the *Jñanakanda* or the rationalistic school represented by Siva and his followers who attached no value to these social and personal differences and the observances based thereon, but devoted their life to spiritual advancement by means of mental discipline and concentration. The former was the orthodox section and the latter heretical (*Pākhanda*) not bound by any but moral and humane rules of conduct. They correspond to the Roman and Reformed Churches in the history of Christian Religion. There was no love lost between the two sects. The problem of their reconciliation was by no means easy, yet was solved in a way by discriminating application of their theories to practical life of man who, it was settled, in his manhood and as a householder, must do good deeds and his duty and perform Vedic and other ceremonies dedicating them to the Supreme and Perfect Being; but who, in advanced age, must retire from the busy world and renounce all its ties for spiritual self-realization and final release. Thus the two Vedic sections (*Karmakanda* and *Jñanakanda*) were mutually adjusted as complementary to each other and forming together the complete Scriptural authority.

The *Pākhanda* heresies flowed into several channels and took different forms and colours, appearing as the Jains, the Buddhists, the Kāpālikas, etc. all condemning the sacrificial and ritualistic practices as perpetuation of the worldly miseries. Siva was the god of the last group (*Kāpālikas*) as Buddha

was of the Buddhists; and between them they exhibit remarkable similarities as both were (1) practising their austerities under the sacred fig trees of India—the one under the banyan (*Vata*) tree and the other under the *Aswatha* or pipal tree; (2) having conquered and annihilated Māra, the Tempter, who disturbed them in their spiritual discipline and self-realization; (3) enjoying the pleasant company and friendly attentions of Kubera, the king of the Yakshas, of whom it may further be observed that in later Puranic lore, he replaced Sōma as the lord of the northern quarters of the globe while in our morning and evening (*Sandhya*) prayers, the latter is still addressed as such; and (4) being known as “Sarvajna” (all-knowing or omniscient). In short, Siva, conceived as *Dakshinā-mūrthi* or as the widower doing penance in the Mount Kailas as described above, seems to bear some striking resemblance to Buddha, and in this form is held in high reverence by the Vedantic school of Sankara whose *stotra* addressed or dedicated to *Dakshinā-mūrthi* is regarded as a very sacred Vedantic text. Here we see the mutual relationship among the various *Pākhanda* sects—the Jains, the Buddhists, the Kāpālikas, etc. [(१) “जटिलं भस्मनानाच्छन्नम्” (२) “कपालखट्वांगधरम्” & (३) “नम्ररक्तपटादिषु”—*Bhagavata Purana*, IV—19 (14-25)].

It will now be seen that these heretics being more or less indebted to the *Jnanakanda* or *Aupanishadā* section for their inspiration were not wholly anti-Vedic or non-Vedic, but as they would not and did not admit and accept its divine authority and infallibility, its value according to them depending on its substantive truth, they were classed as such (anti or non-Vedic) by their opponents, the followers of *Karmakanda* or orthodox school who could never tolerate the formers' free thinking or rationalism and condemnation of the social distinctions and ceremonial observances prescribed in the Scripture (*Varnāśramāchāras*) which to the Orthodoxy was the true Vedic religion as the mental, moral and spiritual advancement leading to the final absorption into the Absolute was the aim of the unworldly ascetic school. The only way to reconcile the two rival schools was by moderation on both sides, by mutual toleration and by delimitation of their respective spheres in life, *i.e.*, by assigning to each a separate stage of life, manhood or old age, for its operation. Thus the open rupture between the ritualistic and the ascetic, or the Vedic and the rationalistic, schools was patched up many a time as may be seen from the Puranic literature in which are met with (1) common expressions, (2) characters, and (3) usages bearing witness to their mutual accommodation and intercourse:—for example (i) the epithets *Nirgranthas*, *Sramanas*, *Vātarasanas*, *Digvasas*, *Bhikshus*, *Kevalins** etc., are applied to both the Brahman ascetics and the heretical (Buddhist and Jaina) monks; (2) Maitreya who

* The word *Nirvana* is also in common use.

appears in the Puranic works as a holy sage and saint well versed in ancient sacred lore and philosophy is the name of the next future Buddha in the Buddhist chronology ; (3) what *Vassa* was to the Buddhist and Jaina monks so was *Chāturmāssya* to the Brahman *Sanyasin* ; that is, they all observe the rule ' not to move during the four months of rain '. These are only a few instances out of very many. In Poet Bhavabhūti's play named " Malati-Madhava ", the hero, a Brahman student of philosophy, is guided and helped by the two Buddhist nuns in his love-quest and sells raw human flesh with liquor in empty skulls in the public crematorium in the dead of a dark night for his success in it ! A strange harmony with a vengeance !!

I shall conclude this paper with a brief account of the Puranic history of religion. It has already been shown that even in the very early age there was a great opposition to the Vedic ritualistic practices and observances of social distinctions (*Varṇāśramāchāra*) carried to the extreme. This opposition was even led by the great gods, Rishis and kings ; and it is even said that the Vedic texts did not exist in the earliest age of the world (*Kṛita*) when the sacred syllable *Om* (*Pranava*) alone constituted the sole Scripture ; when there was only one caste (*varṇa*) known as *Hansa* including all who were all well contented and happy and whose whole divine services consisted in deep meditation on the one Supreme Being (*Hansa*) ; and when there was no outward religious rites and observances. The three sacrificial Vedic texts and ceremonies came into existence in the next age (*Treta*) along with the four castes engaged in their respective occupations (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, XI—17—9 and seq.) which were maintained in the Heroic Age ; but it would further appear that the true Vedic Nature Gods—Indra, Agni, Soma, etc., were degraded and reduced to the position subordinate to the Puranic Gods—Brahmá, Vishnu and Siva who with their consorts and a host of subordinate divinities formed the Puranic Pantheon ruling this world. The shepherd-god, Krishna, even went so far as to refute the theory of Vedic sacrifices, stopped one of them and thereby insulted and humiliated the chief Vedic deity (Indra). These episodes would clearly indicate the trend of religious controversies of the age. The various religious currents flowing in different channels which were running sometimes parallel, closer or far apart, sometimes diverging and sometimes converging were all diverted or directed into one big reservoir where they would join and lose their differences and be further purified—" the heart of love and faith "—the contents of which would then be pumped out and distributed over the wide fallow area of religious observances all round to irrigate and make it fertile and productive of good results.

THE SEVEN DWIPAS OF THE PURANAS.

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(Continued from Vol. XVI, No. 4.)

Chapter XII.

NEXT about the Pushkara Dwīpa.

It will be expedient to use the description given of this Dwīpa in the Brāhma-Purāṇa as the basis for the discussion and to note from the other Purāṇas anything stated by them in addition to or in variation of the Brāhma-Purāṇa narrative.

क्षीराब्धिः सर्वतो विप्राः पुष्कराख्येन वेष्टितः
द्वीपेन शाकद्वीपात्तु द्विगुणेन समन्ततः
पुष्करे सवनस्यापि महावीतोऽभवत्सुतः
धातकिश्च तयोस्तद्वद् द्वे वर्षे नामसंज्ञिते
महावीतं तथैवान्यद्धातकीखण्डसंज्ञितम्
एकश्चात्र महाभाग प्रख्यातो वर्षपर्यन्तः
मानसोत्तरसंज्ञो वै मध्यतो वलयाकृतिः
योजनानां सहस्राणि ऊर्ध्वं पञ्चाशदुच्छ्रितः
तावदेव च विस्तीर्णः सर्वतः परिमण्डलः
पुष्करद्वीपवलयं मध्येन विभजन्निव
स्थितोऽसौ तेन विच्छिन्नं जातं तदूर्ध्वकद्रयम्
वलयाकारमेकैकम् तयोर्मध्ये तथा गिरिः
दशवर्षसहस्राणि तत्र जीवन्ति मानवाः
निरामया विशोकाश्च रागद्वेषविवर्जिताः
अधमोत्तमौ नतेष्वास्ताम् न वध्यवैधका द्विजाः
नेर्ध्यास्या भयं रोषो दोषो लोभादिकं न च
महावीतम् बहिर्वर्षं धातकीखण्डमन्ततः
मानसोत्तरशैलस्य देवदैत्यादिसेवितम्
सत्यान्ते न तत्रास्तां द्वीपे पुष्करसंज्ञिते
न तत्र नद्यः शैला वा द्वीपे पुष्करसंज्ञिते
तुल्यवेषास्तु मनुजाः देवैस्तत्त्वैकरूपिणः
वर्णाश्रमाचारहीनं धर्माहरणवर्जितम्
त्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिशुश्रूषारहितं च यत्
वर्षद्वयं ततो विप्रा भौमस्वर्गोयमुच्यते

सर्वस्य सुखदः कालो जरारोगविवर्जितः
 पुष्करे धातकीखण्डे महावीते च वै द्विजाः
 न्यग्रोधः पुष्करद्वीपे ब्रह्मणः स्थानमुत्तमम्
 तस्मिन्निवसति ब्रह्मा पूज्यमानः सुरासुरैः
 स्वाद्दक्रेनोदधिना पुष्करः परिवेष्टितः ॥

* * * *

“Learned Brāhmins. The Ocean of milk is begirt all round by the Pushkara-Dwīpa. This Dwīpa is double in size to Sāka-Dwīpa. Savana was the master of Pushkara, and he had two sons, Mahāvīta and Dhātakī. The two sons gave their names to the two provinces into which the Dwīpa was divided. One was Mahāvītam and the other Dhātakī-Khaṇḍam.

“There is only one mountain range spoken of for this Dwīpa, and it forms the dividing line between the provinces. The mountain is named Mānasottara and is curved in the middle into a circle.

“It is thousands of yojanas in height and in lateral spread. It divides the circle of Pushkara-Dwīpa into two in the middle, and the two provinces are accordingly formed, each of the two being circular in itself, with the mountain-chain between the two.

“The men there live to the great age of ten thousand years. They are immune from disease, from pain and anguish. There are no distinctions of rank among them, as high and low.

“There is no culprit, no magistrate; no jealousy, no envy, no anger, no spite, no fear, no avarice, and nothing of the kind.

“Mahāvītam is the outer province and Dhātakī is the interior province, that is to say, exterior and interior to the mountain-range.

“In the Pushkara-dwīpa there is no such thing as truth or untruth. There are no rivers, no hills. All men are alike there in their dress and habits. They are like gods. There is no caste in that Dwīpa, nor Dharma, nor Vedic learning; no trade, no state-craft and no menial service.

“And thus the two provinces are rightly considered an earthly paradise. The seasons bring comfort to all the people, who are always free from disease and senility.

“There is a Banian tree in the Dwīpa, the seat of Brahmā, the creator of the universe. Therein he resides and is worshipped by Devas and Asuras. Pushkara is surrounded by the ocean of sweet water, which in extent is of the same dimensions as Pushkara.”

The Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa says:—“There is only *one mountain range*, very lofty. In the Eastern segment of the Dwīpa is the mountain range

Citrasānu *; in the western is the Mānasottara. *The two are really one and the same but the configuration or topography gives the appearance of two.*

“The mountain range extends through the whole length of Pushkara.

“The Dwīpa comprises two excellent provinces. Mahāvītam is the province outside of the mountain-chain. What is inside of it is Dhātākī-Khaṇḍam.” The Purāṇa also adds that there is no rainfall, no springs, no fountains, in that dwīpa, nor any vegetation.

The Skānda says that between the two provinces runs the mountain Mānasa in a circle. The account in the Viṣṇu, Vārāha and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, is much the same as in the Brāhma-Purāṇa.

The note in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa about the mountain-chain being one in two or two in one appears also in the Liṅga and Kūrma Purāṇas.

All the Purāṇas are agreed that the exterior province is Mahāvītam and the interior is Dhātākī. The Mātsya-Purāṇa is more explicit. It is stated there that the Mahāvītam is the western portion, and exterior to the mountains.

There are two more Purāṇic accounts of Pushkara-Dwīpa which I should bring to the notice of the reader. I shall set them out with the foreword, “Look on that picture and on this”.

The Vāmana-Purāṇa and the Gāruḍa-Purāṇa give a harrowing account of the climatic conditions prevailing there, and dwell on the fiendish savagery of the tribes living in it.

Here is the account as given in the Vāmana-Purāṇa.†

ऋषयः—	ये जनाः पुष्करद्वीपे वसन्ते रौद्रदर्शिनः पैशाचमाश्रिता धर्मं कर्मान्ते ते विनाशिनः
सुकेशिः—	किमर्थं पुष्करद्वीपो भवद्भिः स्समुदाहृतः दुर्दर्शः शौचरहितो घोरः कर्मार्थनाशकृत्
ऋषयः—	तस्मिन्निशाचरद्वीपे नरकास्सन्ति दारुणाः रौरवाद्यास्ततो रौद्रः पुष्करो घोरदर्शनः
सुकेशिः—	कियन्त्येतानि रौद्राणि नरकानि तपोधनाः कियन्मात्राणि मार्गेण काच तेषु स्वरूपता
ऋषयः—	शृणुष्व राक्षसश्रेष्ठ प्रमाणं लक्षणं तथा सर्वेषां रौरवादीनां संख्या यात्वेकविंशतिः द्वेसहस्रे योजनानां ज्वलितांगारविस्तृतः रौरवो नाम नरकः प्रथमः परिकीर्तितः तप्ततामसयी भूमि रथस्ता द्रहितापिता

* चित्रसायुः

† Chapter 11.

द्वितीयो द्विगुणस्तस्मान्महारौरव उच्यते
 ततोपि विस्तृतश्चान्य स्तामिस्रो नरकस्मृतः
 अन्धतामिस्रको नाम चतुर्थो द्विगुणः परः
 ततस्तु कालसूत्रेति पञ्चमः परिगीयते
 अप्रतिष्ठं तथाषष्ठं घटीयन्तं च सप्तमम्
 असिपत्नवनं चान्यस्सहस्राणि द्विसप्ततिः
 योजनानां परिख्यातमष्टमं नरकोत्तमम्
 नवमं तप्तकुम्भं च दशमं कूटशात्मलिः
 करपत्तस्तथैवोक्त स्थान्यः श्वानभोजनः
 संदेशो लोहपिण्डश्च करम्भसिकता तथा
 घोरा क्षारनदी चान्या तथान्या कृमिभोजना
 तथाष्टादशमी प्रोक्ता घोरा वैतरणी नदी

तथापरः शोणितपूयभोजनः क्षुराग्रधारो निशितश्च चक्रकः ।

संशोषणो नाम तथापिचान्ते प्रोक्तास्तैवेते नरका स्सुकेशिन् ॥

“People living in that Dwīpa, so fearful in its conditions, known as Pushkara, are veritable Piśācas, (fiends or demons) in their doings, and at the end of their lives are doomed to eternal perdition.”

“Why do you say that Pushkara-Dwīpa is a land of horrors, devoid of purity, cruel, and leading to the destruction of the soul?”

“Because in that land of demons there are fearful hells, Raurava (रौरवः) and the others. That is why it is awful to think of it. The number of these hells is twenty-one. First in order and by reason of its horrors is Raurava, (रौरवः). It is an expanse of two thousand yojanas, spread over with live coals. Neath the burning coals what stands for land is a thick layer of copper always heated from below. The next to it is double the size of Raurava, and of more pronounced horrors. It is known as महारौरवः. More expansive than the second is the third known as the Hell of Darkness. Double the size of the third is the fourth Hell named Blinding-darkness, etc., etc., etc.”

The reader is spared the further enumeration of the remaining seventeen horrors.

The Gāruḍa-Purāṇa gives the name Śabala to the master of Pushkara. He has two sons Mahāvīra and Dhātakī.

Mahāvīra is no doubt an error for Mahāvīta.

‘There are two princes and one big mountain.’

So far the Purāṇa falls into the line. But it is also in agreement with the Vāmana-Purāṇa as to the other side of the picture, for it proceeds to add : ‘There are most fearful hells in Pushkara-Dwīpa.’ The text enumerates the

modest number of twenty-five, by distinctive names. Most of these names do not tally with those given in Vāmana, and appear to have been evolved independently.*

The emplacement of all the hells one could invent in this Dwīpa is undoubtedly in direct contradiction to the certificate in the other Purāṇas that the Pushkara-Dwīpa is a heaven on earth or an earthly paradise.

Is any explanation possible by way of reconciling these flagrant contradictions? The reader is requested to wait and see.

The main topographical feature of this Dwīpa is that there is a mountain range running through the whole extent of the Dwīpa and dividing the same into two provinces, the one being exterior to the mountain and the other interior, interior and exterior from the standpoint of the Purāṇic authors.

The note in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, that the huge chain is really a range of continued formation but looks as split into two, must be due to the situation that the configuration forms a saddle at about the middle of the line, without effectually marring the continuity.

This Pushkara-Dwīpa is the land of Turkestan east and west. The western portion of it, designated as 'Mahāvītam' and exterior to the mountains, is 'Scythia Intra Imaum'. What lies to the east of the mountain is 'Scythia Extra Imaum,' i.e., Eastern Turkestan. The terms *Intra* and *Extra* must be understood relatively to the position of the observer.

To the Greeks and Romans, who came from the west eastward, all the country to the west of the Imaus was Intra Imaum. To the Purāṇic author, the eastern province was the more proximate, that into which he would enter if he crossed the Indian mountains. To him, accordingly, Eastern Turkestan was Intra Imaum. The reader will thus understand that the designations have changed places. This, however, does not matter in the least. For the only fact of significance is the division into Intra and Extra montem.

The position of Mahāvītam, explicitly stated as lying to the west of the Imaus, should obviate any possible confusion of ideas in the mind of one who may be more familiar with the classical differentiation of Intra et Extra Imaum.

For a long time very little was known to outsiders about the vast expanse of country known as Central Asia. Humboldt and Ritter carried the lamp of research into the darkness of this region; but the lamp also carried with it its own shade. From their time onwards up till now a great deal has been done to ascertain new facts, to verify information already obtained, and to add to our knowledge more and more of new and interesting matter. But even now it cannot be said that our knowledge of this region is as complete as one might wish it to be.

* Gāruḍa-Purāṇa, C. 56.

The difficulty in the way of a satisfactory understanding of the history and geography of this part of Asia has been greatly enhanced by the confusion created by a multiplicity of names (spelt in different ways) applied to each mountain, river and place, each writer exhibiting a partiality for names of his own invention or adoption and for a method of spelling proper names peculiar to himself.

Much ingenuity has been expended in the suggestion of physiographical, hydrographical, orographical and political names, each one of which was for some time the endearment of one and the abomination of another, a capricious public changing its mind from time to time as to the particular appellation to be favoured.

The main feature of the southern and eastern portion of this vast region is a series of complexes of mountain systems, complexes which have been the delight of the scientific explorer but the despair of the stay-at-home student. The great mountain range provided by nature to form the division of the two Turkestans is the Belut Tagh (or Bolor) with its continuation the Thian-shan or celestial mountains. The two together form the Imaus of the Greeks.

The curve in the middle indicated by the Purāṇas, the note that the mountain takes a circular range, the remark that the mountain though one is so shapen as to look like two, all have reference to the mass of the Belut Tagh continued into the Thian-shan. The Purāṇic account rectifies the error of Ptolemy and the Greek geographers who believed that the mass of the Imaus was a meridional projection and continued it perpendicularly right to the northern ocean, which, they imagined, was much closer to Central Asia than it really is.

A reference to any modern map will show that the Purāṇic account is nearer the reality of the actual configuration.

"The division of Asia into intra et extra Imaum was unknown to Strabo and Pliny.

"The Bolor chain has been, for ages, with one or two exceptions, the boundary between the Empires of China and Turkestan, but the Ethnographical distinction between Scythia Intra et Extra Imaum was probably suggested by the division of India into 'Intra et Extra Gangem', and of the whole continent into Intra et Extra Taurum."*

Rennell says that "Scythia Intra Imaum commenced on the west either at the river Daix (Ural) or at the mountains of Rhymnicus (Ural) and extended eastward to the great chain that divides in the first instance the

* Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. Titles, 'Imaus' and 'Scythia'.

two Bucharias, and, in its course northward, the countries of Ferganah and Western Turkestan from Kashgar, it being in effect the Imaus in question.”*

“Accordingly, Scythia within Imaus contained the countries since known by the names of Desht-i-Kipchak, Western Turkestan, and the northern part of Ferganah.”*

“Scythia Extra Imaum extended, eastward, according to Ptolemy, to the neighbourhood of the Oechardae; southward to Mount Emodus, the great ridge of Tibet; northward to the parallel of 55°. These limits include generally the country known as Eastern Turkestan.”*

It is probable that the Purāṇic authors regarded the Hells and the Heavens as common to both divisions of Pushkara-Dwīpa. If then Pushkara-Dwīpa is the same as Turkestan, we must look for both H's in this region. It is better to pass through Purgatory first before knocking for admittance at the portals of Paradise.

A brief but effective definition of this country may be given in these words. “This region is a vast desert with a few oases dotted here and there.” The Hells of the Purāṇa range themselves in these deserts and the Paradises are confined to the few Oases, and this is so in the districts both intra and extra montem. Says Hellwald:—

1. On the north-east and east of the sea of Aral, there expands, between the rivers Irghiz and Sir-Darya, an extensive desert of black shifting sand known as Kārā-kūm or Black sand. It alternately consists of a parched clayey soil and of salt-marshes and is dotted here and there with numerous small sand-hills.

2. Between the rivers Sir-Darya and Amu-Darya we meet with the desert of Kizil-Kum (Red sand). It is a reddish-brown plain of shifting sand.

3. On the south this steppe borders on the still more barren clayey steppe of Bokhara, which is described as a vast sea of sand; *not a bird in the air, not a worm or beetle on the earth is to be seen. Traces of extinct life alone are found.* The desert is wide but very deficient in water. Frequently men and cattle tortured by exposure to the heat and burning sand fall sick and die.

4. By far the most terrible of all is the devastation caused by the Tebbad, which signifies in Persian ‘*the Fever-wind*’. On its approach the camels begin to bellow loudly, then throw themselves down, stretching out their long necks on the ground and trying to bury their heads in the sand; travellers droop cowering down behind their camels. With a dull panting

* Geography of Herodotus.

noise the wind rolls over them, and pours on them a flood of sand, of which the grains, as they descend, burn like sparks of glowing fire.

5. The other deserts in the neighbourhood of the Amu-Darya are for the most part sterile deserts of sand. In the deserts of Turkestan and Kharazm, a spark of fire thrown from carelessness on the ground and fanned by the wind will set whole steppes on fire.

6. The Kirghiz steppe consists of vast plains; *not a tree nor a shrub can be seen* on which the wearied eye can rest. A graphic picture is sketched by Mr. T. W. Atkinson in these words:—

In these dreary deserts no sound was heard to break the deathlike silence which hangs perpetually over this blighted region.

The Amu-Darya basin has the Turkomanian or Kharazmian desert on the left, and on the right the desert of Kizil-Kum.

Henry Landsell gives a graphic description of this desert. Says he:—*

“At a distance of about 27 miles from Merv, the Russian railway enters upon the outer fringe of the most terrible desert, I suppose, crossed by any railway in the world. The desert is not merely sandy but of sand entirely, with this additional drawback that, whereas the sands on the Caspian coast may, by labour, be half-fixed, those near the Oxus are at the mercy of every wind that blows.”

So much for the horrors of Pushkara-Dwīpa beyond the mountains (Intra Imaum).

Eastern Turkestan (Extra Imaum) is walled in on all sides except the east by the loftiest mountain ranges. On the south are the Kuen-Lun mountains of the Trans-Himalayan system. On the west are the Pamir mountains of the Belut tangle. On the north are the Thian-shan (celestial mountains) and its Dzungarian extensions. On the east the basin opens out towards the Gobi desert. It is a ‘horse-shoe depression’. The Purāṇas represent it as circular in form, but it is more of an ellipse than a circle. One river formed by three affluents and named Tarim flows from west to east in this region, and loses itself in the salt swamps which are the outposts to the west of the Gobi. Except along the banks of the Tarim and its tributary streams, there is hardly any agriculture or verdure. All the rest to the north and the south of this stream is mere desert. The southern is the desert of Takhla-Makan, ‘nearly as large as Great Britain’ and the northern is the Tarim desert.

Of the Takhla Makan desert Miss Ella C. Sykes speaks thus:—“From east to west this paralyzing waste stretches for 500 miles, while its greatest breadth from north to south is half that distance.

* *Chinese Central Asia* (2 Vols. 1893), Vol. I, p. 48.

"It is indeed a land of death, covered with monstrous sand-hills, which overlies the ruins of great cities and dense forests, and represent the triumph of the wind, combined with desiccation, over the patient industry of man."

"Chinese Turkestan (*i.e.*, Eastern) may be described as a series of deserts, fringed by oases, forming a horse-shoe, with the toe pointing west."

"The desert with its waves of sand, advancing in regular lines and rising to the height of perhaps one hundred feet, is the most noticeable feature of the country, which is full of legends of the destruction through this agency of many famous cities." *

A description of this 'land of death' recorded by Hiuen Tsang is quoted by Miss Sykes. The passage will certainly bear repetition:—

"These sands extend like a drifting flood, for a great distance, piled up or scattered before the wind. There is not a trace left behind by travellers, and oftentimes the way is lost, and so they wander hither and thither, quite bewildered without any guide or direction. There is neither water nor herbage to be found and hot winds frequently blow. When these winds rise both man and beast become confused and forgetful, and there they remain perfectly disabled." †

"At times sad and plaintive notes are heard and piteous cries; so that between the sights and sounds of this desert men get confused and know not whither they go. Hence there are so many who perish on the journey. But it is all the work of demons and evil spirits." ‡

It seems the area of the oases is less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. No wonder that the Vāmana and the Gāruda Purāṇas should give the gruesome account of Pushkara-Dwīpa noted above. It is probable that, from the relations of travellers or others, the compilers of either or both of the Purāṇas had some reliable information about the conditions prevailing in this Dwīpa.

The Purāṇas say that no rain falls in Pushkara, that there are no rivers, no streams, fountains or springs. Except near the mountains and in the valleys of the few streams fed by glaciers, there is hardly anything like a supply of water available in these lands. Speaking of Eastern Turkestan Miss Sykes says:—"There is an almost total absence of rainfall. The scanty rainfall of 3-34 inches is distributed over the whole year and is irregular." §

Mr. Rickmers says of the western province "not only is there little rain but also bad distribution, much of it coming at a time when it cannot help

* *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia*, By Miss Ella Sykes and Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes (1920), p. 236.

† Do. do. do. p. 237.

‡ Do. do. do. p. 237.

§ Do. do. do. p. 239.

agriculture, and next to nothing falling in summer. What water is stored in the bowels of the mountains must be a negligible quantity, judging from the *rarity of springs*.”*

“Forests and perennial meadows are practically non-existent and all agriculture is an oasis.” “The precipitation in the plains is only six inches per year.”†

“On a liberal estimate all patches of cultivation with villages and cities occupy a tenth of the total area. Here live more than half of the population or an average of a hundred to the square mile. This leaves ten inhabitants to the square mile to the rest. But here again a certain concentration is brought about by the nomads of the steppes and the peasants of mountain valleys: so that 100,000 square miles must be satisfied with two or three little dots of humanity each, which number is further reduced to one or almost nothing over the 50,000 square miles or so of nearly absolute desert.”‡

* * * * *

Let us now proceed to examine the claim of this Dwīpa to be regarded as an earthly paradise. The natives still put forward such a claim and Muhammadan writers have indulged in the same hyperbole as the Purāṇic writers, a fact which shows that the Purāṇic accounts can be explained consistently with existing conditions.

Hellwald says that “the natives as well as oriental travellers and geographers, such as Idrisi, Ibn Haukal, Abul-Feda and the learned Prince Babar, represent Turkestan as the richest land on the face of the earth and only admit a preference in favour of India.”§

“It is said that the inhabited portions of Turkestan are blessed with a fertility and luxuriant vegetation *far surpassing that of any district of Europe*.”§ “The variety of production is great and the soil is extraordinarily productive.”¶ “It is difficult to decide which of the three Khanates is the most productive.”§

Mr. R. Rickmers says that “the Zarafshan by itself does almost more useful work for humanity before it dies than all the Afghan affluents of the Oxus together.”||

(The word Zarafshan is a Persian word meaning the strewer or scatterer of gold. The Greeks called it Polytimetus.)

Of this river Mr. R. Rickmers says:—“It is the nourisher of Sogdiana, it is *the* river of the Duab. It is the strewer of gold, the picture of life, the river *Symbolic*.”°

* *The Duab of Turkestan*, p. 30.

† *The Duab of Turkestan*, p. 24.

¶ P. 77.

§ P. 78.

† *The Duab of Turkestan*, p. 29.

§ P. 76.

|| P. 23.

° P. 45.

In the work of the Russian Captains, 'The Russians in Central Asia', it is stated that the entire territory of *Little Bokhara* (Eastern Turkestan) is sterile in the extreme, but relieved by large and fertile oases. Of these the most important and best known are those of Kashgar, Yarkend and Khotan.

The Purāṇa says that the peoples of this Dwīpa are practically immune from disease and physical decay.

There appears to be some foundation for this statement. In the work of the Russian Captains, already referred to, the authors say :—

"The climate of Eastern Turkestan, judging by the health of its inhabitants, as well as by its beneficial influence on strangers, must be very salubrious. Epidemics and pestilential diseases are altogether unknown to the Turkestanis, with one important exception, the small-pox; notwithstanding the great consumption of fruit and the universal habit of smoking hashish, which is known to have a most injurious effect on the human organization, *very few of the Turkestanis ever suffer from sickness.*"* It is clear from the above that the people are favoured with a particularly excellent climate and could lead happy and healthy lives if they chose to do so. The small-pox is an unfortunate visitation for them as much as for any other Asiatic nation. The Turkestanis could avoid it no more than could the people of India.

Chapter XIII.

Having identified the Pushkara-Dwīpa with the two Scythias we are entitled to examine the Purāṇic account of the peoples residing therein to see how far the character given to them by the Purāṇas is borne out by the evidence of history.

The main narrative on which all our knowledge of this subject is based is that of Herodotus. Later writers have indeed added little of value to it. In some cases they have been proved to be in the wrong and the father of history in the right.

The Scyths known to the early Greeks were already divided into two great families, European and Asiatic.

After a time some of these western Scyths were designated Sarmatians and the other branches of the family continued to be known as Scythians.

The following account is taken mainly from the chapter on Scythia in the Universal History.

The Scythias were two, Asiatic and European. So also the two Sauro-matias which lay alternately between the Scythias.

1. European Scythia lay to the west and north of the Don. 2. From there European Sarmatia extended to the Volga. 3. To the east of it lay

* P. 129.

Asiatic Sarmatia. 4. Then Asiatic Scythia (with its two sub-divisions, of later origin, Intra and Extra Imaum).

The Sarmatians differed so little from the Scythians in their language, religion and customs, if we may believe Herodotus, that we may reasonably suppose them to have been originally a branch of that nation.

An excellent character is given of this nation by the ancient historians.

Temperance, a contempt of riches and luxury, and a simple and primitive way of living are mentioned among their virtues.

Justin sums up their character in words to this effect: The Scythians were a nation which, though inured to labour, fierce in war and of prodigious strength, yet could so well master their affections that they made no other use of their victories than to increase their fame.

Theft among them was reckoned so great a crime, and so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without fear of losing them.

Gold, silver, diamonds, etc., were as much despised by them as esteemed by other nations. They lived upon the milk of their cattle and clothed themselves with their skins.

What is still more wonderful, those virtues which the Greeks in vain endeavoured to attain by learning and philosophy were natural to them, and they reaped those advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not derive from their knowledge of virtue.

A nation of this character and way of life could, *therefore, want but few laws to secure their property.* Upon the whole what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud and covetousness. Their friendships were lasting and very faithfully kept. They cultivated no arts or sciences except those of war, nor scarcely any trade or commerce except that of pasturage.

Their way of living was quite incompatible with commerce. They did not know so much as writing until after the Median usurpation.

Their chief riches and food consisted in their numerous herds. They used to move from pasture to pasture.

We do not find that they were much addicted to feasting. Drunkenness could not have been common among them.

But in general they were remarkably abstemious. They talked little but concisely and nervously.

'The nomadic Scythians inhabited the country to the north and west of the Caspian. They differed so little from the Royal Scythians, except in this appellative, that we shall say no more of them than that they led a wandering life, living no longer in one place than they found plenty of pasture for their cattle, which being consumed they removed to fresh grounds.'

The authors of the *Universal History* say that the Massagetae likewise imitated the free Scythians in their habit, manner of living, arms and warlike genius, but they used, besides bows and arrows, scimitars and javelins.

There was no agriculture among them, and they neither sowed nor planted.

These Massagetae were a numerous and powerful section of the Scythians. They were the dominant population in Scythia Intra Imaum, *i.e.*, to the west of the mountain-barrier.

The Purāṇas are agreed that the western half of Pushkara-Dwīpa was known as Mahāvītam from a supposed eponymous hero. Now, undoubtedly, this was the domain of the Massagetae. The Sanskrit word *Mahāvīta* is only a transformation of the word *Massagetae*. M. D'Anville suggested that the word Massagetae probably meant the great Getae; and, agreeably to that, we find '*Massa*' replaced by the Sanskrit '*Mahā*', meaning great. The ancient authors place the homes of the Massagetae beyond the Jaxartes. They were placed by Herodotus along the northern banks of the Jaxartes and also extended eastward far into the country named after the Calmucks. Rennell fixes the Massagetae in the great plain now occupied by the middle horde of the Kirghiz, adjacent to the river Jaxartes, *i.e.*, between the East Caspian and the Imaus.* They were a nomadic race and constantly moved about for fresh pastures. They made their homes in their wagons.

The description in the Purāṇas eminently befits a nation very simple in their mode of life, with very few and easily supplied wants, pastoral and nomadic, fond of the chase, and moving about for fresh fields and new pastures; with no settled habitations, with no distinctions of rank, without the complications of an advanced system of civic polity, and untroubled by anything like an administrative machinery. Each man the peer of his neighbour, as free as the winds which blew over them. Each man the monarch of all he surveyed on the boundless steppes over which they roamed. That this description points to the Massagetae or Mahāvītae there can be no doubt.

The certificate given in the Vāmana-Purāṇa to the peoples of Pushkara-Dwīpa, that they were fiends beyond all hope of redemption, records, in all probability, the savagery experienced by travellers at the hands of marauding bands of Turkomans and Tartars, during historical periods, after the Scythian name ceased to exist.

If then the Mahāvītam is the western division, the Dhātakī Khandam is Eastern Turkestan. But why was this province called by that name? The word occurs in three forms in Sanskrit: Dhataka-Dhataki and Dhatakī, the

* Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*, Folio Edition, p. 208, *et. seq.*

last ending in 'n'. I have looked for help from every possible source, but I have not been able to ascertain the origin of this name.

In Sanskrit the word धातकी, Dhātakī, is found as the name of a tree. I never saw it, though I am told it grows in our woodlands. I do not know whether it grows in profusion or at all in Scythia Extra Imaum.

The Botanical name conveys no information to me. But it might to the reader. I shall, therefore, give it as I find it in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, "Grislea Tomentosa".

It is probable, however, that the name of the district may have nothing to do with the name of the tree. It is just possible that the former is the corruption or adaptation of some obsolete appellation.

But why was the Dwīpa as a whole named Pushkara? The word Pushkara as a common noun in Sanskrit has several meanings. One of them is 'the lotus flower', the well-known Indian water-nymph. The Skānda-Purāṇa states that there is a prodigious lotus in this Dwīpa, with golden petals, each thousands of *yojanas* in length and presumably also in width. Hence the name of the Dwīpa.

The Devī-Bhāgavatam says the same thing and adds that Brahmā, the creator, has his abode in or on this lotus.

The Mātsya accounts for the name by stating that the Dwīpa is surrounded on all sides by a profusion of lotus flowers.

In the Pādma-Purāṇa and the Mahabhārata the name is stated to be the same as that of the mountain range running through the Dwīpa, but no other Purāṇa gives the name Pushkara to that mountain range. No one of the other Purāṇas has attempted to account for the name. As for the lotus being the favourite retreat of Brahmā, the Vishnu, Liṅga and Brāhma Purāṇas say that there is a huge Banian tree in this Dwīpa, and Brahmā has his nidus in the dense foliage of this tree, much like a Malayan anthropoid.

It is thus clear that the Purāṇas are not able to give a satisfactory explanation of the name.

I hope the explanation presently to be given will be found more satisfactory, if less orthodox.

The word Pushkara is the same as the word Bukhara, the correct form of the name Bokhara according to Vambéry.

Khotan was at one time a Hindu colony supposed to have been founded about the second century; but it would appear that the magnificent Buddhist temples and monasteries were all destroyed by the Muhammadan conquerors.

At one time Buddhism was prevalent on both sides of the Imaus. The district of Samarkand and the valley of the Zarafshan were colonized by Buddhists from India. They carried with them Sanskrit culture and Prakrit

speech. The country thereabouts was thickly studded with monasteries, known by the Sanskrit name 'Vihāras'. This word Vihāra was corrupted by the Mongols into Bukhara.

Here we have a case quite parallel to the designation 'Behār' of the Indian province, which is only a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit 'Vihāra'. In course of time, the word Bukhara acquired vogue. When the Hindus lost the country they knew of it by the Prākrit form of the name 'Bukhara' which should be *Pukkharo*. This converted into Sanskrit would form the word *Pushkara*, which, therefore, has nothing to do with the lotus flower.

It would seem that Vambéry's knowledge of the etymology of this word was not complete.

In his *History of Bokhara* he says in one place, speaking of the name 'Bokhara' of the well-known city; "The Turanian origin of this word is beyond doubt."*

According to him this great city was at one time Iranian in origin and was named Djemuket. He follows up this statement and says:—

"We do not know at what date the old Iranian city of Djemuket received the Turanian name of Bokhara, for *Bokhara* is even now the Mongolian word for a temple or monastery."†

In a foot-note the author says:—‡

"The Muslim authors say that Bukhara in the language of the idolaters meant 'Majma-i-ilm', a place for the collection of knowledge, i.e., a college or school. Even now the Turks pronounce the word quite correctly as 'Bukhara', while the Persians say 'Bokhara'.

Vambéry is correct to the extent of having traced the word to Mongolian antecedents, but we are told that that is not the whole truth about it. His whole book has been submitted to a scathing criticism by a Russian scholar, and his explanation of the word Bokhara is one of the items noticed.

Says the critic, Professor Grigorieff:—

"According to him (Vambéry) 'Bukhara' is also a Mongol word 'for Bukhar is even now the word for a Buddhistic temple or monastery'."

"The Sanskrit 'Vihāra' borrowed by the Mongols, he takes for a Mongol word."§

Eugene Schuyler in his work on *Turkistan*, says:—||

"The name Bukhara is derived from the Sanskrit 'Vihāra', a reunion of wise men, a monastery; and, like several other names in Central Asia, is a relic of Buddhist influence. In earlier times, and even in the sixth century, as we find in Chinese authors, the place was called Numi or Numijket."

* P. 11.

† P. 14.

‡ P. 14.

§ Eugene Schuyler's *Turkistan*, in 2 Vols., Appendix II, p. 368. || Foot-note on p. 89 of Vol. II.

So then there should be no difficulty in understanding the word Pushkara aright.

Central Asia has suffered from an abundance of names, different names at varying periods of history having been in use for both divisions, eastern and western.

Among those names which held the field for a long time were the designations 'Great Bucharía' and 'Little Bucharía', which came to be adopted by reason of the political lead and domination acquired by the city of Bokhara. Great Bucharía was Scythia Intra Imaum, Western Turkestan, etc. It included the deserts and the Khanates. Little Bucharía was Scythia Extra Imaum, or Eastern Turkestan.

The two Bucharías, roughly speaking, made an entire *Bucharía*, the *Pushkara-Dwīpa* of the Purāṇas.

Taking a resumé. The division of the Dwīpa into two provinces; the division being one naturally effected by a mountain range; the curve taken by that mountain range; the designation of the provinces as *intra et extra montem*; the name of one of the provinces as Mahāvītam; the name of the Dwīpa itself as Pushkara; the inability of the Purāṇas to account honestly for the name; the proximity in which it is placed to Gomeda-Dwīpa, (and, by way of anticipation, also to Śāka-Dwīpa); and a good many other facts, should cumulatively have the effect of establishing the identity of this Dwīpa with Central Asia, and relieve us from the necessity for further discussion.

(*To be continued.*)

IDEALS IN ART.

BY BHAVACHITRA LEKHANA SIROMANI N. VYASA RAM, ESQ.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

TO-DAY I am to begin the first of a series of four lectures during the course of which I shall try to show you a glimpse of the ideals of India and other lands in art as far as they concern us. The purpose of this series is to lay bare such facts concerning the significant part that is played by art in the general growth of countries as will be within the compass of the judgment of our normal common sense. I do not propose to treat this subject in an academical and scholarly manner that you might applaud me for my fund of information or the style of treatment. I am not before you here to display my learning of which I cannot boast with any degree of confidence or to receive your compliments about my delivery which is not always a healthy sign of a speaker's success. I am a plain blunt man of the world and as such I can but appeal to you in a simple, common sense, matter-of-fact manner. I believe it is better to know little and realize that little in our lives than to know much and understand little. For my part I have not tried to learn much but what little I have learnt I am anxious to be convinced of and what is more, to convince. You will, therefore, excuse me if I disappoint you in your expectations if you have any, which, I am sure, will not be much, of a brilliant lecture.

In this connection it would be necessary to mention, briefly though, a word of justification as to my venture and a few words to indicate to you the main course I propose to adopt and the various items of interest I am likely to deal with in the course of my talks.

In general, whenever a person comes forward to take part in some public activity, his sympathy with that cause and his earnest interest in its progress form his justification for his step. Here, however, besides the normal one there is a special justification that a situation, emergent as the present one is, demands. That special justification is the fact that art at present in India is more misinterpreted than interpreted, more misunderstood than understood; misinterpreted by those who take it upon themselves to interpret, misunderstood by those who are keen on a proper understanding of it. The cause for this unhappy state is not far to seek.

As a result of an imperfect and hybrid education we happen to find in India two distinct classes, mutually exclusive, the uncultured labourer and

the unpractical scholar. The labourer has lost all his initiative and originality and has got accustomed to the execution of others' ideas. The scholar who does not condescend or stoop so low as to do any practical work but who is gifted with a versatile tongue and pen, takes upon himself the more apparently easy task of supplying the requisite ideas and of applying his powers of speech and writing in popularising the results. Thus has arisen the gulf between the artist and the art critic. Instead of these faculties being combined in one person they are divided between two quite different individuals with nothing in common. The art critic generally being a theorist, is forced to safeguard his position by using rather vague and undefined terms, by the use of which those who are taught become none the wiser. This has resulted naturally in a just and pardonable impression in the public that art lectures are generally a collection of flowery sentences that serve but one purpose, of lulling a jaded audience to pleasant dreams.

It is to avert, if possible, at all events at least, to mitigate, to whatever extent we can, the tragedy, undeserving as it most emphatically is, that art in our country has to face, that I have ventured, in spite of my insufficient equipments for such a responsible task, to begin a humble campaign towards a more constructive and rational system of æsthetic education. I trust, therefore, that this just ambition will justify any shortcomings in the realization of your hopes in me.

So far as to the need and justification for this venture. Regarding the course I am to adopt, it may be, to put it briefly, a simple appeal to the normal æsthetic instinct that every one of us possesses. I shall try in the first case to put before you the very elements of art, its original purpose, the course it has taken during ages in different countries, its present condition, and as far as it lies in my power a few constructive suggestions as to the future scope and possibilities if we but take an active part in its furtherance as much as the situation deserves and demands. While doing this it shall be also my constant endeavour to define every abstract term that is used by us in this connection so as to make it convenient for the lay man to appreciate and understand aright all that deserves to be appreciated and understood in art.

To-day I shall try to show you as briefly and as clearly as I can the origin and purpose of art, how it happened to create ideals for itself later, according as time, place and circumstance demanded, how these ideals changed and modified themselves with the advance of time and the causes thereof, mainly with reference to our country.

That we might the better understand our subject, it seems to me necessary to remind you of what you already know, a distinction that has arisen of late years in all cultured circles, based more on a political difference

rather than otherwise—I mean the distinction of Eastern and Western in art as in everything else. Greater value might be attached to that distinction had it been a result more of geographical than a political differentiation. It cannot be denied, however, that very material differences exist between the activities of the two but from a wider and general point of view they will seem subordinate to a common scheme of life.

Art, like every other faculty, is common to mankind all the world over and is naturally based on certain broad, general principles and ideals, which it would help us much to study at the outset.

Art as an Expression.

Art is known as the world's mother-tongue. This needs no comment. Before man knew how to read or write he was capable of scratching on bones, with sharp flint, figures of animals and men that he was accustomed to see round him in daily life. Among the works of the inhabitants of the later stone age, certain paintings in the primary colours dating back to more than fifty thousand years are still traceable in some Spanish caves. To a period much earlier than this can be ascribed the prehistoric bone drawings of animal life by the primitive artists. Though lacking in anatomy and proportion these drawings and paintings display a very considerable amount of lively spirit in them. It is evident then the use of colours in art had begun not less than fifty thousand years ago. The artists of those ages who could not evidently conceive of the finer shades and mixtures of colour, consequently dabbled mainly in red and blue which are the most easily distinguishable by the infant brain. Art was evidently a language more spontaneous in supply to meet the exigencies of infant mankind when they had not developed the capacity to read and write. It only reveals the ambition of man from earliest times to express in some manner the joy he felt surging within his breast at the beauty of creation. He felt that joy and like all pure joy it could not be enjoyed to its fullest unless and until it was transmitted to another. And to give vent to that stifled ecstasy art offered a ready relief. It originated as an expression of the various aspects of beauty in creation that appealed to the intuition of man.

It is given but to a few to be really witnesses of that glory of creation, for the generality of us have eyes that cannot see and ears that cannot hear. Few are they that have made themselves sensitive to these higher impulses of this immense creation. In the life of every human being comes a time, a moment of higher impulse now and then when the heart is joyous without knowing why, a moment when great Truths of life present themselves to the inner vision in a flash. For the brief space of that one moment every one of us is a poet, an artist, a musician. There is not a single life in which

cannot be traced an instance of romance, of some higher elevating experience, though few have depicted it in verse or colour. The blind pass by immense treasures thinking ' 'tis but a passing sensation ' ; the deaf believe ' 'tis but the murmur of the distant wind ' . But it is he who knows the significance of that coveted treasure that snatches a bit of it as it reveals itself and holds it in his grip to elevate himself and those that are in the dark with their eyes shut, refusing to see the light on the hill top. When the power of expression is awakened man discovers a means of recording that impression. If one has trained himself to the susceptibilities of language he bursts forth in verse ; if he has developed the sense of melody in sound he expresses himself in music. If the beauty of colour appeals to him he records his experiences in painting ; if it is the grace of form that strikes the keynote he comes forth with his ideas in Sculpture. Thus art is but an expression in form or colour of a higher, a nobler impression on the human soul of some aspect of that glory.

Racial and Self-Expression.

When we speak of art as an expression we have to take it in two lights, expression of the individual self and of the race as a whole. It can be taken more as a racial expression than individual. It has been proved psychologically for those who stand in need of scientific proof that the artist is one of those who have the gate from the unconscious to the conscious mind wide open so that primitive strivings of the race easily get through. It is also an accepted fact that the unconscious mind is a storehouse of the experiences of the race to which he belongs. And if the artist now and then strays away from the normal path to express the primitive in man, it is more because of those strivings from the unconscious forcing themselves into the consciousness of the artist than his own voluntary effort. We know how every one who is a medium of original expression in language, colour or sound accepts the existence of a certain force guiding his work of which he is not always the master. There are dictates to him from the unconscious now and then, "dictates" as Charlotte Bronte well said "that would neither be uttered at your prayer, nor suppressed nor changed at your caprice". While making himself a medium for the revelation of racial experiences the artist naturally also expresses himself in that through his works we realize to what extent he is susceptible to these forces from within and the kind of appeal they make to his intuition. Thus he becomes, on the one hand, the interpreter of the life and experiences of his race and on the other, of his own intuitive achievements. There is yet something more important in this for him that can look beneath the surface of things. While the artist unconsciously reveals the unexpressed feelings of his race that force themselves on his

attention, if we observe the course taken by these expressions from time to time, we would be able to see clearly how at times tendencies in art actually forestall and predict similar tendencies in life and politics. History attaches its testimony to this as we shall see.

It shall be also our purpose during this series of talks to see how far in history we find evidences of such coincidence between tendencies in art and life. I shall try when I deal with the progress of art in Europe to show you how there was a very striking coincidence between art and politics during the Renaissance period.

Now to come to our immediate purpose, art taken first as a medium of expression, we shall proceed to the next step of making ourselves clear on that distinction I referred to at the beginning between Eastern and Western art. When we speak of art in terms of East or West we mean it to be the system of the adaptation of the principles of art in general to interpret the ideals and truths of life in such a manner as would successfully appeal to the average temperament of the respective spheres on the one hand, and to express to the world outside, the scope, capacity and the quality of artistic conception achieved in that place, by that system and the extent of the success or failure thereof.

Idealistic and Realistic.

The next distinction we are confronted with in the study of art is that between Idealistic and Realistic. As far as these terms are in use in India in the hands of modern art critics we are made to understand that art in the East is Idealistic and in the West Realistic. It is further supposed that these two terms are in sense opposed to each other. This impression is the cause of a lot of misunderstanding in art as already mentioned. In fact, a little deeper reflection would show clearly that the two methods are in vogue in both places, in fact all over the world to achieve two different purposes in life. After having pointed out to you the ideals that guide art in general the whole world over and this country in particular, I shall try to show you as far as lies in my power how, to what extent and with what amount of success or failure the two methods were applied in the East and the West.

An ideal work of art is a representation of a mental conception of a material object. A realistic work of art is a true representation of an actual object in existence. Ideal works may be roughly sub-divided into Idealistic, Mythological, and Ironical; Realistic works include portraiture, landscape and painting from Nature.

Idealistic art is an expression of the ideals of a nation. It points out to the lay eye the beauties hidden beneath the life of man presenting themselves to him in ever so many ways in vain. It points out to man the munificence

of God and His bounty and tries to rouse the reverent gratitude of man towards the Supreme Being. In this class are included productions of art that are illustrative of great Truths of Life, or similar general topics that exercise an elevating influence over man. An idealistic work is the result of an act of imagination. In this class are found works that personify abstract ideas giving them concrete forms embodying those ideas. It is here that human imagination is revealed at its best or worst, for the productions display the extent of the healthy condition of imagination reached by a nation or country. It will be interesting to note the different methods used in India and Europe to achieve success in this branch of art. While in India it was purely a result of an act of contemplation and imaginary conception, in almost all cases of similar works in Europe the productions are copies of poses given by special models who were supposed to have been expressive in their features of the qualities intended to be personified. For instance, compare the system of making statues or paintings of women in different poses and naming them after Justice, Peace, Liberty or Innocence, as contrasted with the Indian system of contemplating over the qualities to be personified, and picturing in the imagination such a figure or composition as would be most expressive of the purpose, resulting often in crude forms and most miserable failures in physical proportion and consistency though full of spirit. This I shall deal at greater length further.

The mythological aspect of art is intended as a record of the ideals lived up to by the forefathers of the artist and his nation, how far they succeeded or failed. This is to aid man to remind himself, firstly, of his worthiness to their ancestry and tradition and secondly, to hold them and their virtues as ideals for future generations. Further, this is a very strong record of the growth of conscience and emotions in man at different stages of evolution, for the benefit not only of his own land but of the world at large. This arose as a result of the admiration that was roused in man for the achievements of his forefathers. This pride in ancestry is quite a human feeling all over the world. Partly due to the pride of ancestral glory which subsequently glorified those that descended from them, and partly due to the admiration for such achievements even in those dark ages, for man everywhere has got into the habit of believing that he was the only privileged individual to enjoy the light of human wisdom and that his ancestors always lived in a comparatively dark and ignorant age, resulted in recording through art all their glorious achievements. This feeling of hero-worship has always been mixed up with a little fanatic devotion and hence it would be seen that in almost all cases of mythological representation there is a certain amount of overdone expression though bubbling with lively spirit. In all art there is no other field which

holds in its grip so strongly the hearts of the masses. Having realized that this item of art is capable of moving even stony hearts to tears or admiration, pity or indignation, it will be observed that this was made use of invariably for purposes of religious propaganda. In fact, some places like our own country at a certain period even restricted the very scope of art to religious subjects only. This puritan spirit has existed all over the world in connection with mythological representations of art as we shall see by and by.

The ironical aspect of art, though apparently insignificant, plays a very important part in the education of a country. This corresponds to the satire in literature. While lessons are taught conveniently and effectively in many cases by this method, the productions of which are commonly known as cartoons or caricatures, it also reveals to us the humorous aspect of a nation and even develops it to a remarkable extent. This field is intended for contemporary purposes and serves directly and effectively.

The Realistic mode of expression was naturally an earlier one adopted by man to represent existing things before he was capable of interpreting them to suit various purposes. This began with the prehistoric man who drew the games and fights of the ibex and the reindeer, the most common to him, more as an item of diet than an object of beauty. As civilization advanced the scope was extended to other animals and even human forms. Though at this stage much of resemblance to the originals could not be expected of them, to their credit must it be said that they did not fall far short of their ideal in representing the main features of character through their simple and crude drawings.

The fact that realistic art attained very high eminence in the West is beyond doubt or question. Realistic art may be said to have received its highest impetus in Greece and Italy. The Greeks, and later the Romans, to whom the grace and proportions of the human form were a continual source of inspiration and delight to such an extent as was surpassed neither before nor after, made it a special point to develop that beauty of form in themselves as much as they could and the joy they derived at the very sight of that form was the origin of all that was best and noblest in their art. As it was more the form than the colour that appealed to them it could be safely said that more of their masterpieces lay in Sculpture than in Painting. In order first to serve as a record of the features of the higher aristocracy and later for personal sentimental satisfaction arose the system of Portraiture. Except in India where art has undergone a series of metamorphosis more numerous than healthy or desirable, in other countries portraiture even to this day has not been much affected by the invention of photography. It is still a delight to any European artist to paint or sculp his hero from a sitting rather than

copy from a photograph. Under this system of sittings it is very interesting to observe the remarkable truth and likeness to every minute detail which characterizes even portraits of a very earlier period in the history of Western art.

There is an impression that portraiture was not much in vogue in ancient India and that realistic art was out of their scope altogether. On the contrary all art began first with realistic representation and it was only when man developed the fanatic aspect of religion that realistic art suffered. Various instances where references are made to portraiture could be traced in Indian myths of a very early period. We have a clear instance of a portrait of Sakuntala, which Dushyanta, her husband, and another very intimate friend of hers, mistook for herself. The likeness is mentioned to have been so realistic that the king, furious at the thought of a bee, that in reality was painted, sitting on her face, threatened it with violence if it did not instantly remove itself. There are also references made in the Mahabharata to a portrait of Abhimanyu which was said to have been equally realistic. That portraiture was quite common in India needs no special emphasis. There is, however, one fact which might need a second thought. It is believed that there was in existence in bygone days a system of portraiture by which the artist needed nothing but a sight of the nail of the little finger to prepare a realistic portrait. A certain margin must be allowed to human infirmity in magnifying things. But that there should be some basis for this idea is plain. It is possible to imagine that an artist at the sight of any part of a body could approximately estimate the character of the original he was to portray, and bring out that characteristic with stern realistic effect. It is equally possible to imagine that a single sight of the person was enough to create a fairly strong impression in his mind to enable him to produce a true picture and one small detail might serve to give him a clue to many other particulars. This is not beyond human possibility, and, when we think how photography did not exist at that time, that portraits, however, did exist, that those portraits revealed striking likenesses to their originals, that among those portraits were also some of women of the aristocracy, and that in many cases women led a secluded life, it is possible that some truth could be attached to that system of portraiture.

Landscape painting took two different courses in Europe and India. Realistic representation in Europe meant the representation of things as they seem to the human eye. Hence the science of perspective and light and shade. In India, however, it meant the representation of things as they were with their permanent and unchanging characteristics. That is why in India we find very little sense of perspective displayed in landscape

paintings. You will find a road represented by two parallel lines drawn from top to bottom, and in a representation of a building you could peep into every interior apartment. Apart from this, so far as paintings of nature were concerned the method universally applied in India was that of idealizing objects to be represented. The artist created a standard, an archetype of every object in nature and created his compositions out of those archetypes. Thus Indian art in all its forms tended to become more conventional than realistic.

In fact landscape painting in India attained no special prominence as it was made use of more as a background for other subjects than as separate subjects deserving to be treated by themselves. In Europe, however, where the love of Nature was very great the artists took special delight in painting broad landscapes or seascapes and the different aspects of Nature. It is still more interesting to observe how the Japanese who are equally, if not more, reputed for their love of Nature and art, do not take broad expanses of land, water or sky for such treatment but generally the apparently insignificant items of Nature to create masterpieces out of them. So that it is not the gigantic oak or banyan but the slender water reed that catches their imagination, not the great mountains but the little ant-hills, not the majestic lion nor the huge elephant, nor the swift antelope but the bee, the fly or the grasshopper. This knack of looking for real beauty in insignificant corners, of making the least important count most by their masterly touch and treatment, equally serves them in other walks of life as well.

Applied Art.

Perhaps in a way more important than the various systems mentioned above is that of applied art—art as it is applied to the various items of daily life. This is in a way more important than all the others as those were intended only for a small circle of persons possessing average æsthetic understanding. But applied art is more universal in its scope and more expressive of national character as it affects the daily life and habits of every individual in a nation. The clothes we wear, the utensils we use, the food we eat, the furniture we keep, the way we decorate our homes, all these are eloquent records of our æsthetic taste.

Here we have to consider the general æsthetic taste of the various countries. For instance, Ruskin, representing European taste in general, argued that a home should be purely simple in its decorations and only here and there to break the monotony a thing of beauty should find its place. He argued that it was only by contrast that the value of beauty was set off and therefore it must be a rare thing to see. He felt that by making beauty too familiar, we lost our regard for it. Hence it is that the ordinary clothing or

utensils of daily use among them are very simple and plain. But here and there a gorgeously decorated flower-vase or an elaborately carved picture frame finds a place in the scheme of decoration. And an exquisite piece of embroidery goes to serve as a table cloth or a window screen. Beauty, according to them, was to be enjoyed from without, to be preserved with great care, looked upon with supreme regard, handled with the utmost delicacy.

Contrast with this the ideals of Eastern countries. They felt that their lives should be infused fully with beauty of every kind and that to make them so it was necessary to be surrounded by objects of beauty. So it is we find in these countries, even the clothing of every-day use is generally full of various interesting designs and displays a larger variety of colours than anywhere else. The sarees, specially of Southern India, are a splendid example of the infinite variety of colours in use in the matter of daily clothing. The shawls, turbans and upper wear of most people in India are rarely simple and without exquisite ornamentation. The same holds good with the jewellery of the East. Equally superb is the example of the decorated and highly ornamented hookas of the Muhammadans, which are sometimes even bedecked with jewels. No Indian household uses anything like the Western utensils for cooking or other purposes. Because there was something artistic in the very design of their shape, the craftsmen dared not waste their skill and time on making them of brittle material that would not last long. Thus it happens that, however poor a household be, its vessels of daily use are made of metal only, generally brass, copper or bronze; and many of these utensils are also ornamented, sometimes gorgeously, with designs of endless variety.

More pleasing than this is the system of Rangoli or Kolam as it is called in these parts—the decorations done day after day on the floorings of houses in flour paste, which are done by the women of the household the first thing in the morning. It is also to be found that this system is more developed wherever there is a predominant religious influence. Places like Madura, Srirangam or Conjeevaram afford illustrious examples of Rangoli decorations which are made on broad streets during processions of the respective deities, each house undertaking to decorate that part of the street which is within its own limits. Rangoli having been attributed a spiritual significance besides that of decoration, became a very science which has been developed to a remarkable extent. It might have been observed that a variety of colours are also in use in this decoration and among certain sects during some parts of the year certain ceremonials and rituals are observed in connection with this known as the Go-Padma Vrata (गोपद्मव्रत). How the uses of colours in such decorations had a very sound scientific basis we shall see when we deal with Indian art in particular. Thus it happened, with different ideals that

while the West became a spectator and worshipper of Beauty, the East turned itself into an active participant in that festival of Beauty of which Life is the symbol.

The Medium of Expression.

Having seen briefly how art in its various aspects had different ideals to guide it and how far it served its purpose let us see what the nature of the media of expression was. Architecture, sculpture and painting were the three natural modes of expression adopted. In the early days of Europe, art was invariably confined within the church as in India. It is during that period when mythological art was highly patronized by religion that most masterpieces in art were to be found in the church. The church was and is usually the highest building in a locality as our temples are in India and as they are all over the world. These towers, masterpieces in architecture, the higher they were constructed, the more eloquent were they supposed to be of the prayers of man on earth. Towers of temples and spires of churches are the solidified mute prayers of man to his Creator. And within this masterpiece of architecture were to be found statues of the great saints and apostles of God, the great heroes and heroines that have cleared the thorns on the path of human life. The walls and the ceilings were painted with pictures depicting the life, activities and history of those that have made themselves sign-posts and guides to humanity in their path of Evolution. Thus, whether in India or Europe, during the period when religion exerted a very conspicuous influence on human life the three media of artistic expression, architecture, sculpture and painting, were more or less confined to the temple or the church.

But later, when the love of art increased and æsthetic taste developed, arose the necessity of producing pictures that could be hung in the home. Whether it was because there was better æsthetic taste in Europe than in India or whether the Indian sanctified art to such an extent as not to allow it to be diverted for purposes of individual sensuous satisfaction, the fact however remains, that the productions of pictures for the home was a thing not much known to the average Indian, but became very common in Europe. We shall see later how this necessity for the production of pictures of this type resulted in the invention of oil-painting and the development of that aspect of art to scientific perfection.

The Ideal of Colour.

Perhaps the most significant, though least understood, feature of all painting is the colour aspect. Every country has its own colour scheme as we technically call it, based on its own standards. Taking the latest theories regarding the origin of colour we learn that colours are the outcome of

vibrations in Nature. The variety of a colour depends on the velocity of the vibrations. For instance, the colours of the rainbow are arranged according to the velocity of their vibrations, in a regular order of gradation. Thus red colour is the result of the smallest number of such vibrations, and ultra-violet the colour of the utmost velocity so far discovered. This corresponds roughly with our own Hindu theory of classifying colours into Sattwic, Rajasic and Tamasic so that violet belongs to the highest degree of Sattwic quality and Red the lowest Tamasic. They believed that colours had an immense significance in themselves and consequently exerted a similar, though unconscious, influence over those who came in contact with them.

These ideas were considered to be so crude and old-fashioned that until recently many persons refused to believe that any sense could exist in them. But during recent discoveries when European Doctors found that colours played a great part in curing or aggravating the malady of patients and consequently gave to the world the new system of Chromopathy or colour treatment, the crude old-fashioned superstition became an accepted scientific principle. It has also been observed by many psycho-analysts of to-day that recent researches have shown how it is possible to discover the character and aptitudes of persons by knowing their likes and dislikes in colour. The effect of colours in psychic experiments and spiritualistic trances is being more and more realized every day. That the attraction for particular colours is a definite index to character and that the influences of the colours about us are unailing and considerable, is a fact accepted even by the theosophists, and there is no gainsaying this fact.

Relative Proportion.

Apart from this indirect effect of colour, let us take another aspect of it which, equally important in itself, is worth our consideration. As all art is but an expression of one aspect or other of God's immense creation, it is but rational that the artist should take a lesson from Nature. We find in Nature that colours are very sparingly used and a gorgeous effect is produced but occasionally. The proportion of colours to each other as found in Nature must, no doubt, be of the best type and standard for our guidance. The most frequently used colours in Nature are Blue, Green and Brown. This combination is by far the most pleasing to the eye, external or internal. We may roughly classify under blue, the sky, water and mountains; green includes the whole of the vegetable kingdom; under brown come Earth, wood and man in general. The other colours which have a brilliance about them which the human eye cannot tolerate either in excess or for a long time are sprinkled about with very great care and skill. We find the sky for the most part of the day of the same pleasant blue and only once in the

way at dawn or sunset for a few minutes is a gorgeous effect revealed. This same principle ought to hold good in all painting and to some extent it did hold good in ancient Indian art as we shall see. It is because our ancients had realized the immense power that colours unconsciously wielded in human life, they laid great restriction on their discreet use. Art then was considered naturally and properly, as in reality it is a powerful mantra capable of the utmost harm when wrongly used or in the hands of miscreants.

The Law of Moderation.

A word needs be said about the strength of colours used in painting. With the introduction of what is supposed to be realistic art in India, we have been accustomed to pictures of glaring colours which are most unpleasant to the eye. Here we would do well to know the opinion of Ruskin himself, one of the enthusiasts of the Realistic school. Says he: "The least appearance of violence or extravagance, of the want of moderation and restraint, is, I think, destructive of all beauty whatsoever in everything, colour, form, motion, language or thought; giving rise to that which in colour we call glaring, in form inelegant, in motion ungraceful, in language coarse, in thought undisciplined, in all unchastened; which qualities are in everything most painful, because the signs of disobedient and irregular operation." A keener observation will show us how it is the tender rose colour of the rose or the lotus and not the deep red of blood, the light green of the tender leaf and not the dark opaque colour of the full-fledged one, that is more beautiful and pleasant to look at. The law of moderation in everything as in colour is the law of Nature and it is one of the first principles of all genuine and creative art to use perfectly subdued colour treatment, for "the very brilliancy and real power of all colour depends on the chastening of it as of a voice on its gentleness, and of action on its calmness and of all moral vigour on self-command".

The Purpose of Art.

Thus far about the ideals of expression. Thus far about the modes and media of expression. And yet remains perhaps a very important question to be answered. Whether this ought to have been taken first or last in our discussion I am incompetent to judge. But the fact is of the greatest importance, especially in these days when people speak "as if houses and lands and food and raiment were alone useful and as if sight, thought and admiration were all profitless," whether art serves any purpose at all in life. The answer to this could but be one and nothing but that—an emphatic yea.

As Ruskin has mentioned in his inimitable style, "man's use and function are to be the witness of the glory of God and to advance that Glory by his reasonable obedience and resultant happiness". And further that it is

better that we do not exist than that we should guiltily disappoint the purposes of existence. Look into what corner soever you please in this immense creation and the lesson is thrust home. The moment we begin to look for any motive in anything outside of itself a part of its organic beauty is lost. A leaf is beautiful to us because it is a leaf and behind it is the hidden hand of the Maker. A flower gives us that pleasure that we derive from a sight of it, because the breath of that One Life pulsates in every vein of it. But the moment we look upon a leaf as an item of Nature intended to decompose carbonic acid and prepare oxygen for us, that a flower is intended for us to get honey out of, it has become a machine and no emotion fires our knowledge of it. We admire the beauty of a tree not because it could be used for our furniture or that its leaves could be turned to manure, but because underneath the whole we feel more His Presence than His Workmanship, for which reason beautifully has He hidden from human sight, though yet within the compass of our investigation, all such mechanisms of Nature, revealing to us but the beautiful whole which cannot be beheld at the same time without a flow of elevated emotion and a reverent gratitude to the Eternal Source from which spring the waves of Life and Beauty. And this Presence that reveals itself to our sight in season and out of season, in the tender leaf and the delicate flower, in the hard stone and the soft grey cloud, is intended more to be felt rather than to be analysed and dissected that motives might be discovered for their existence, that they might be made subservient to some object out of themselves, to be converted into a system of the adaptation of matter to serve the carnal needs of the narrow, limited, grappling human being.

It may be asked and it is indeed asked in many cases what purpose the artist served in life, painting trees and mountains, rivers and valleys. Were he a merchant he might have, to many a hungry soul, brought a handful of food. Were he a lawyer he might have been instrumental in bringing peace in this warring world. Were he a doctor he might have brought relief and balm to the sick and the suffering. Does he help us to win our bread, to end our strifes, to heal our ailments? Most surely not. What then was the end of art?

Herbert Spencer in his definition of Education, mentions it to be that system which prepares man for "complete living". No one who possesses a healthy body ever wishes to cripple the use of any of its limbs. And any limb which is not used must, of a rule, be crippled in time. For the healthy condition of a body depends on the use *generally* of all its limbs, and not the development of a few and the paralysis of the rest. Nor do we call a man healthy whose body is beautifully and strongly built but to whom the eyes serve no purpose. Whether a limb serves a purpose or not, the

general healthy condition of a body must mean the full and normal capacity of using every limb of the whole. Equally true is it of the faculties of the brain. Sight, Thought, Admiration, Sympathy and Imagination are as healthy and necessary to human life as the hands or feet to the physical body. And it is not the growth of one or a few of these faculties and the paralysis of the others that constitute a perfect condition but the full development of each faculty to enable it in the proper and complete discharge of its function in life. Curb any of these gifts of Nature and you are a cripple in mind. Stunt your sight and you are blind to the glories of Creation living eternally in a gloomy ugly cell of your own. Curb thought and you become dull and useless to yourself and to your neighbour. Curb the faculty of admiration and you become self-centred and incapable of grasping the treasures that God has opened unto you. Paralyse your sympathy, you grow cruel and heartless and are dreaded by your neighbour. Cripple your imagination and you become a cynic dissatisfied with everything in life which becomes a bore and a miserable burden. Real education means the training for "complete living" and it is no complete living which cripples the faculties of the mind and the heart, faculties which are as important, if not more, in the discharge of our function in Life as houses and land, as food and clothing. And it is this completion of education that is aimed by art, for, as already mentioned, if there ever was anything great and noble in art, it was but the free and sincere expression of man's delight in God's work. This was the ideal that the artist had to keep before him continually, for if he worked day and night and at the end of life could not count a single instance in which a touch of his brush has not added to human wisdom, he is no artist but a manufacturer, one whose works were the results of his hands and perhaps the intellect but devoid of the heart without the presence and influence of which no great art in the world ever was born. And rightly too has it been declared again and again by that furious enthusiast of art in the West that art was no recreation that can be learnt at spare moments or pursued when we have nothing better to do. It must be understood and undertaken seriously or not at all. To advance it men's lives must be given, to receive it their hearts.

The Attitude of the Student.

Before we enter into detail to study in brief the progress of art in the various countries it seems to me necessary that in our own interests a pause has to be made to be sure of our right attitude for any study that is not begun with the right basis and the right attitude is bound to be a fruitless venture. More depends on our attitude than anything else. It is the within that every one of us must necessarily consult and respect at all times, that matters most more than even the subject of the study itself. Let me,

with your permission, bring before you in a very few words the main features that we have to keep in our view constantly while entering into a critical study of art.

Briefly, Art the universal mother-tongue, was an expression of man's delight in God's work. It was a spontaneous flow guided by dictates that lie as much in the control of the artist as the furious steeds are in the control of the charioteer that has lost his hold of the reins. Being expression it was partly racial and partly individual. The experiences of the race and those of the individual corresponding to our Prarabdha and Sanchita Karma respectively which are generally stored in the unconscious mind of every individual, at times force themselves into the consciousness of the artist who is one of those who have the gate from the unconscious to the conscious mind wide open so that these strivings easily get through. And invariably the expressions of the artist are but the unexpressed and perhaps stifled and suppressed feelings of his race so that in most cases the artist is quite innocent and ignorant of the course of his expressions that he is unable to discover any motive that could be successfully attributed to his actions. Thus it happens that at times in the history of the world tendencies in life and art coincide so strongly as to be able to predict and forestall similar tendencies in life and politics. This is the part that an artist plays in the life of his country and we shall see next how this truth has been confirmed in various places.

A word has to be said in connection with idealism. We have seen how idealistic works are the production of the acts of imagination. When we study productions of this type we have always to bear in mind that any work of art is to be judged or understood basing our study of the ideals of the artist and his country and not on our own ideals. For instance, the ideal of womanhood in Europe is the full development of her individuality and the sharing of the responsibilities of man in every walk of life, while in India it is the submerging of her individuality and becoming a complement to fill what lacks in the life of man and forming one harmonious whole out of two complementary parts. It is not our purpose to discuss the ethical or moral value of either of these ideals of two different parts of the world, but to see how far the ideals of each country governed the productions of their respective artists and how far those artists helped themselves and their fellow-men in the realization of that ideal. So that our further study shall be based not on one common standard or ideal but the general standard of the respective countries and their artists, for thus alone would it be possible for us to gain an impartial knowledge of art and the course it has taken during ages in different countries.

Conclusion.

Having pointed out as far as it lay in my limited power, a few of the main features that were the ideals of art in general all over the world and having also referred to the right attitude which we need to prepare in ourselves that we might get a fuller view of our subject, I crave your permission to conclude this part of it and hope you will give me the same indulgent and patient hearing you have given me now, when I next begin the second of this series of lectures in which I shall try to give you a concise idea of the growth of art in Europe. If, on this occasion, I have bored you with abstract ideas and disturbed you from your well-earned rest of this evening, I shall try in my further talks to interest you a little more by applying these abstract theories to the activities of concrete, substantial men and women all over the world in whom pulsed the very same life and breath that pulsates in us.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS. No. X.—ON A PROBABLE ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE JUNGLE BABBLER.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE Jungle Babbler (*crateropus canorus* Linn.) is a very familiar bird of the Indian countryside. It is extremely common in every part of Bengal and is also found throughout the peninsula of India. They live as much on the trees as upon the ground. They are remarkable for the habit of making a cup-shaped hole on the ground, in which hole they take dust-baths with their wings spread out. They are very noisy birds and go about in flocks. Although they are sociable among themselves, they occasionally fight with each other.

These birds are called *Chhātāriyā* and *Sātbhāiyā* or “Seven Brothers”. In Hindi, they are called *Sātbhāi*, *Jangli-Khyr* and *Ghonghāi*.

They breed from March to July and in the south of India even in the dry weather upto December. They build their nests in low and thick-leaved trees or in bushes or hedges. They generally lay three eggs at a time.

Regarding their habits, Mr. Mark Thornhill writes: “These birds—I forget their name—are very common in the Indian gardens. They are about the size of a thrush, and with plumage almost exactly the colour of dust. They rarely, if ever, fly, always run, and this they do with outstretched necks and extreme rapidity. Their size, their colour, their mode of running and the sudden way in which they dart out of the bushes give them a most disagreeable resemblance to rats. *They have also a singular habit of always associating in groups of uneven number, either five or seven. The natives have a pretty legend accounting for this habit.* I am sorry to say that I have forgotten it.”*

I have already stated above that the Bengali name of this bird is *Sātbhāiyā* and their Hindi cognomen is *Sātbhāi*, both of which names signify “Seven Brothers”. This name obviously alludes to their habit of associating together in flocks of *seven* (and, sometimes, five), as mentioned above by Mr. Mark Thornhill.

The last-mentioned gentleman says that the Indians have a pretty legend which accounts for their aforementioned peculiar habit but which he has not been able to record owing to his having forgotten it.

I am inclined to think that the probable ætiological myth accounting for the evolution of these birds is that seven persons, either males or females,

* *Vide* “Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian official.” By Mark Thornhill. London. John Murray. 1899, pp. 194-95.

were metamorphosed into these birds by way of punishment for having committed some transgressions or sins. But this is a mere conjecture.

[The writer of this paper will be extremely obliged if any gentleman, who may be acquainted with the ætiological myth mentioned by Mr. Mark Thornhill, will please communicate it to the pages of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.]

Regarding the aforementioned birds which are either called "*Seven Brothers*" or "*Seven Sisters*", the following passage occurs in Colonel Yule's *Hobson Jobson* (page 814) :—

"The popular name (Hindi—*Sātbhāi*) of a certain kind of bird, about the size of a thrush, common throughout most parts of India, *Mala cocercus terricolor*, Hodgson, 'Bengal Babbler' of Jerdon." The latter author gives the native name as *Seven Brothers*, which is the form also given in the quotation below from "*Tribes on My Frontiers*". The bird is so named from being constantly seen in little companies of about that number. Its characteristics are well given in the quotations. See also Jerdon's *Birds* (Godwin-Austen's edition, ii, 59).

"In China, birds of the starling kind are called by the Chinese '*Pā-ko*' or "*Eight Brothers*" for a like reason." See Collingwood's *Rambles of a Naturalist*, 1868, p. 319 (see Myna).

Quotations :—

"The *Seven Sisters* pretend to feed on insects, but that is only when they cannot get peas. * * * Sad-coloured birds hopping about in the dust, and incessantly talking whilst they hop."—Phil Robinson, *In My Indian Garden*, pp. 30—31.

"The *Sātbhāi* or "*Seven Brothers*" * * * are too shrewd and knowing to be made fun of. * * * Among themselves they will quarrel by the hour, and bandy foul languages like fish-wives; but let a stranger treat one of their number with disrespect, and the other six are in arms at once. * * * Each Presidency of India has its own branch of this strange family. Here (at Bombay) they are brothers, and in Bengal they are sisters, but everywhere, like Wordsworth's opinionative child, they are seven."—*Tribes on My Frontiers*, (Edition 1883), page 143.

The statement made above by the author of "*Tribes on My Frontiers*" to the effect that Jungle Babbler is called "*Seven Sisters*" in Bengal, appears to be wide of the mark. I have already stated above the Bengali name of this bird is *Sātbhāi*, while its Hindi appellation is *Sātbhāiyā*, both of which names signify "*Seven Brothers*".

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Bangalore, 2nd August 1926.

THE HON'BLE MR. S. E. PEARS, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
in the Chair.

THE Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall, on Monday, the 2nd August 1926.

The Chairman in opening the proceedings referred to the lamented death of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, Founder and Life-President of the Mythic Society. Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, Esq., M.A., Chairman of the Committee of the Mythic Society, then moved the following resolution of condolence :—

“That the Members of the Mythic Society do place on record their deep sense of loss and sorrow on the sad demise of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father Anthony Marie Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E., a Founder of the Mythic Society and its President for over sixteen years.”

In doing so, he described the Rev. Father Tabard as one of the small band of early workers in Indian Research, to whom the Mythic Society owed its existence. As was truly said of him, Rev. Father Tabard was the Mythic Society and the Mythic Society was Father Tabard. With a merry twinkle in his eye and kindliness of heart and disposition, their lamented President had won the love and esteem of all with whom he came into contact. It was their extreme good fortune that a French Priest, working amidst strange surroundings, should have been able to collect, the leading citizens of the State and beyond, round about him in founding this unique institution and in winning the affection and esteem of all. He was a perfect Sadhu of olden times, and their hearts, he had no doubt, went out to the memory of such a man.

In seconding the resolution, Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I should like to add my humble testimony to the work of the late Rev. Father Tabard. His was a unique personality. To know him was to love him. He was simple and unostentatious. He was equally at home with the highest as well as the lowly of the land. He had a genuine love for Mysore, which he regarded as a second fatherland and for which he worked for 35 years. He was singularly free from religious intolerance and had a true

love and insight for ancient cultures and mysteries, which he loved to study and expound. He undertook a long and laborious journey to see the birth-place of Buddha. There was not a place of archæological or antiquarian interest which he did not visit. The cast of his mind is reflected in the great institution which he founded, the Mythic Society, of which he was the revered President. He was a true friend of the Indians, with whom he had close intellectual sympathies. He was to be seen at all our social parties. He was proud to wear the badge of Rajasabhabhushana, which H. H. the Maharaja was pleased to confer upon him. For the first time after he came to India he visited France to recuperate his health and returned to Bangalore with no hope of recovery. It was his wish to come back, so that he might die in the land to which he had given his heart and the best years of his life. It is such a man whose death we mourn to-day. May we have men of his stamp to guide the destinies of the Mythic Society. I have now the melancholy pleasure of seconding the resolution moved by Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao.

Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, B.A., supported the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously, all members standing.

Mr. S. Srikantaiya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., General Secretary and Treasurer, then read the Report.

REPORT.

The Committee of the Mythic Society desires to place before you this evening a report of the Society's activities for the year 1925-26.

Before doing so, it is our mournful duty to refer to the lamented death of our Life-President, Rajasabhabhushana Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E. He was the life and soul of the Mythic Society since its inception. Even during his recent illness, his interest in and enthusiasm for the work of the Society sustained the efforts of the Committee, and we meet under the gloom of the irreparable loss. It will be a long time before the void is made up at least to an extent. Rev. Father Tabard was a founder of the Mythic Society and its President for over sixteen years. The Society owes its progress and development, its fine location and its present position amongst the learned societies of the world, mainly to the keen interest and enthusiasm of its founder. The nucleus of our valuable library was furnished by his transfer to us of his large and valuable private collection. His memory will ever be cherished by us all with feelings of the deepest gratitude and esteem. Rev. Father Tabard has been regarded as the father of the Mythic Society, and as Sir Leslie Miller aptly put it, "the Mythic Society was Father Tabard and Father Tabard was the Mythic Society". May his ideals, his enthusiasm, his love for the country in which he lived and for which he toiled, nourish us and encourage us in our work!

Having regard to the services rendered by him to the Mythic Society, the Committee consider it desirable that the memory of the Rev. Father Tabard should be perpetuated in a suitable manner. After deciding the form the memorial should take, the Committee will make an appeal to the public, which, they are confident, will meet with a generous response.

One of our most valued and highly respected contributors Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Rao Bahadur Mr. C. Suryanarayana Rao one of our oldest members, and Rajakaryaprasakta Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao who was deeply devoted to the study of the history of Mysore, passed away during the year and we feel the loss very keenly indeed.

2. CHAIRMAN:—During the year, the proceedings of the Society were conducted by the Chairman of the Committee, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, in the absence of the President.

3. MEMBERSHIP:—The strength in our membership has been steadily maintained. A few more life-memberships have been secured during the year. Your Committee reiterate their appeal to the members to invite more of their friends to join the Society, and to make it more widely known.

4. FINANCE:—From the statement of receipts and expenditure appended to the Report, it will be noticed that Rs. 800 have been added, during the year, to the reserve which now amounts to Rs. 10,150. Our financial situation would still further improve if members in arrears should promptly pay them. Arrears still to be recovered amount to about Rs. 500.

5. MEETINGS:—Eight ordinary meetings were held during the year. Mention may be made of the lantern lectures: "The Ancient Stone Circular Burials" by Major Wauchape, and "The Cult of Agasthya" by Mr. O. C. Gangooly, Editor of 'Rupam', Calcutta.

6. JOURNAL:—The Committee offer their thanks, on behalf of the Society, to the contributors who helped to maintain the high level of excellence of our Journal and to the several gentlemen who read papers before the Society.

7. EXCHANGE:—Amongst the new exchanges during the year may be mentioned:

- (1) The Indian Historical Quarterly,
- (2) The Philosophical Quarterly, and
- (3) The Indian Review.

8. LIBRARY:—Large additions were made to the Library by purchase and by the receipt of presentations. The Society is most grateful to the Government of India, the Local Governments in British India, and the Durbars of Hyderabad, Travancore and Kashmere for presentation of several of their publications to us. The Oxford University Press has laid us

under a debt of gratitude by presenting to our Library a large number of their publications bearing upon subjects in which the Mythic Society is interested.

9. **READING ROOM:**—The number of visitors to our Free Reading Room attached to the Library is yearly increasing, and during the current year it reached 2,965 according to the Visitors' Book, against 2,600 in the previous year.

10. **THE HALL:**—In spite of the very adverse seasonal conditions of the year, the usually excellent condition of our garden has been kept up. This was largely due to our being enabled to cart water from the Sampangi tank with the permission of the Municipality, to whom our best thanks are due.

The Hall continued to be in great demand for public purposes. The Faculty of Arts and the Civic and Social Service Association, amongst others, held several of their meetings in our premises.

11. **VISITORS:**—Amongst the distinguished visitors to the Society, may be mentioned Maharajadhiraja Sir Bijay Chand Mahtale Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., of Burdwan and Sir Mahomed Habibulla Sahib Bahadur.

12. Rajatantrapravina Dr. Brajendranath Seal, one of our Vice-Presidents, and the Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas have been the recipients of signal distinction during the recent Birthday Honours. We desire to congratulate them on the well-merited Knighthoods conferred on them. We also tender our hearty congratulations to the distinguished educationist Mr. H. J. Bhabha, C.I.E., to Rao Sahib Mr. A. M. Thangavelu Mudaliar and to the recipient of the Kaiser-i-Hind medal Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, whose public and philanthropic work have been suitably recognized.

13. We gladly welcome Amin-ul-Mulk Mr. Mirza M. Ismail, B.A., C.I.E., O.B.E., Dewan of Mysore, as one of our Vice-Presidents. We are always assured of his sympathy and sustained and abiding interest in the welfare and progress of this institution.

14. We beg to express our gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, and His Highness' Government for their generous sympathy and support for our institution.

Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, in proposing the adoption of the Report, desired to add a paragraph referring to their appreciation of the work of the office-bearers. Mr. P. Sampat Iyengar seconded. The Chairman, before putting to vote whether the Report should be adopted, heartily approved of the suggestion made by the mover and added that a paragraph should be inserted in the Report relating to their appreciation of the

work of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society and of the Committee. The motion, that the Report with this addition be adopted, was carried.

The election of Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., as President of the Society was proposed by Diwan Bahadur Rajamantrapravina P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L., in very felicitous terms, seconded by Mushir-ul-Mulk Mir Humza Hussein, B.A., B.L., and supported by Col. P. A. Skipwith. The motion was carried with acclamation.

Rao Saheb A. M. Thangavelu Mudaliar proposed and Mr. P. G. D'Souza, B.A., B.L., seconded the election of office-bearers for the ensuing year. After the election of the office-bearers was over, the Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. S. E. Pears, spoke as follows :—

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

If I refer but briefly to my deep appreciation of the honour you have conferred on me in inviting me to preside at this, the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Society, it is because I feel sure you will understand that the reason lies in the overwhelming sense of the irreparable loss which we have suffered in the death of our Founder and Life-President. I can add little to the tributes paid to the memory of Father Tabard by the eloquent speakers who have already addressed you this evening, and indeed the intimate and enduring friendship with Father Tabard, which was enjoyed by so many Members of this Society makes it almost unfitting for me to mention the relations which existed between him and a comparative new-comer like myself. I should like, however, to recall my first meeting with him, two years ago, when I was passing through Bangalore on a short visit to my predecessor, Mr. Barton. It was a chance meeting at a small garden-party at the Residency; quite by accident I found myself drawn into a small group of Indian gentlemen centering round the venerable and kindly figure which was so familiar to you all. Within a very short time the conversation had turned towards that most absorbing subject, the India of two thousand years ago, and Father Tabard was explaining his views, not with the dictatorial finality of the pedant but with the gentle persuasiveness of the real Seeker after Knowledge.

The most vivid impression which that occasion left on my memory was not connected so much with the Father's erudition as with his profound affection for India and, above all, with his immense tolerance. He held no brief for any particular race or creed, caste or sect, ancient or modern: all had their virtues, on which he loved to dwell to the exclusion of those differences and divergences which tend to split up the universal brotherhood into arbitrary divisions.

I do not know if Father Tabard has left a Will : in fact, judging by his incessant generosity to the poor of all denominations, it is quite possible that there was little left in the way of worldly goods for him to dispose of with testamentary formalities. But I feel sure that he has bequeathed a priceless legacy to this Society in that same sense of tolerance which was his main characteristic. From the very foundation of the Society he swept away all tendencies towards narrowness of thought, enquiry and research. He could never have described himself as a Seeker after this or that particular branch of Knowledge : he sought all Knowledge and in its train all Understanding. He knew as one of the cardinal truths that Understanding and Intolerance were incompatible, and that where Understanding entered, there Intolerance could never stay. This, I feel sure, was the prime motive which led him towards the foundation of this Society : if his object has been fully realized up till now, let us make it our duty to see that we never depart from his high ideal in the future..

I am led in this connection to refer to a speech which was made only a few days ago by a profound thinker who is well known to you the Right Honourable Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar. I have seen only a report of the speech in a newspaper, the "Hindu" of Madras, and cannot, therefore, guarantee its verbal accuracy, since even newspapers occasionally make mistakes in reporting speeches ; but I assume that the general tenor of the speech is accurately reported. After referring to the danger that excessive religious enthusiasm and earnestness might be liable to develop into fanaticism and intolerance, the learned speaker said, ".....Such a state of affairs must never come to India. Every man can be religious in his own sense. If every one, who had realized that in his religious life he was enlightened by some little ray of the Universal Light, viewed with toleration and not with fanatic intolerance the followers of other' religions, all the troubles in the country would be over. It is quite probable that two men, who have a great amount of difference in their religious beliefs, may in their daily social life be exactly harmonious. It is also possible that with the same philosophic background the social life may differ. Men must first have the largest amount of tolerance towards other religionists....."

Mr. Sastriar's concluding words were, ".....There is only one final goal though there may be many paths to it. By all means you may learn from others, but you must pursue the way you think right. Above all, you must learn tolerance."

Ladies and Gentlemen, in concluding with this extract from Mr. Sastriar's speech, I will leave you to answer one question : if I had not said at the outset that the speech was Mr. Sastriar's, would you not have thought that the words were the words of Father Tabard ?

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Statement of Accounts from 1st July 1925 to 30th June 1926.

RECEIPTS	AMOUNT	EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
1. Resident Members' Subscriptions ...	524 0 0	1. Establishment—	
2. Moffussil Members' Subscriptions ...	753 9 0	Pay of Staff ...	771 0 0
3. Life-Membership Donations ...	365 0 0	Livery ...	22 13 2
4. Government Grants ...	2,100 0 0	Garden ...	55 15 6
5. Interest earned ...	632 14 0	Water Charges ...	73 8 0
6. Fixed Deposits ...	1,000 0 0	Lighting Charges ...	184 8 0
7. Recoveries from Peons ...	40 0 0	2. Journal—	
8. Sale of Journals, etc. ...	52 13 0	Printing ...	1,700 0 0
9. Miscellaneous ...	17 0 0	Postage ...	261 14 0
		3. Library—	
		Furniture ...	75 0 0
		Lantern Requisites ...	120 12 0
		Photo ...	50 0 0
		Subscriptions to Papers ...	120 2 0
		Books purchased... ..	256 8 0
		Book-binding ...	20 12 0
		4. State Loan Bonds—	
		Purchased from the Fixed Deposits and Savings ...	1,759 14 0
		5. Miscellaneous—	
		Stationery, Gilding, Repairs, etc. ...	179 0 8
		Advance to Peons ..	190 0 0
Total ...	5,485 4 0	Total ...	5,841 11 4
Opening Balance ...	497 6 5	*Closing Balance ...	140 15 1
GRAND TOTAL ..	5,982 10 5	GRAND TOTAL ...	5,982 10 5

* *Details for Closing Balance :*

	Rs. A. P.
1. In the Bank ...	128 14 10
2. With the Curator ...	2 10 1
3. With the Branch Secretaries	9 6 2
TOTAL ...	140 15 1

Reserve Fund :—

	Rs. A. P.
State Loan Bonds ...	10,050 0 0
Bank of Mysore Share	100 0 0
TOTAL RS. ...	10,150 0 0

S. SRIKANTAIYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

REVIEWS.

An Historical Memoir on the Quth., Delhi.

MR. J. A. PAGE, A.R.I.B.A., has rendered an inestimable service to Archæology in treating in detail the memorable Quwwatu-I-Islam Mosque of Quthu-b-din Aibak and its great Minar, together with the tomb of Altimish, the Madrassa (college) and the tomb of Alau-d-din Kalji. The blending of the Indo-Saracenic architectural style with despoiled Hindu materials of columns from different temples, of shallow corbelled domes, of sculptured figures, of Saivite, Vaishnavite, and Jaina images, shows the genius for adaptation the Ghory builders exhibited in utilizing such materials for their purpose. A visit to Delhi after a careful perusal of the Memoirs will make one appreciate better this relic of antiquity.

C. B.

Archæological Survey of India. Annual Report, 1923-24.

THE Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for the year 1923-24, apart from its beautiful illustrations and list of plates, teems with interest over the Sind and Punjab Discoveries. The excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro have brought to light finely built cities of the chalcolithic period (third millennium) and beneath them layers of earlier structures. The houses are remarkable for their construction, with brick floorings and bath rooms. The city is well provided with wells and an elaborate system of drainage. The people are familiar with copper, gold, silver, lead and mercury, and their seals show the best Mycenæan art. The excavations will probably reveal that this part of India was the seat of a great civilization, probably pre-Aryans (Dravidian) whose culture was destroyed by the invading Aryans and help, we hope, to bridge the wide gap which at present separates this prehistoric from the historic age of India.

C. B.

The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations.

THERAPEUTICS has always had its peculiar charm for the scientific mind and from time immemorial been associated with Magic and Religion. The ignorance of natural laws, superstition and artifice easily led to gross exaggeration of the part played by the supernatural in the cure of diseases. Dr. Walter Addison Jayne, M.D., has given us a most interesting book in tracing the Healing Gods of Ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, India, Iran, Greece and Rome. The Folklore of these nations, the salient features of their respective religions and healing customs, together with the personalities of their deities will offer many hours of pleasant reading to all students of History in general, and stimulate, we hope, as the author desires, more satisfactory researches in this by-path of early civilizations.

C. B.

NOTES.

Muladeva and Kharapaṭa.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, ESQ., B.A.

IN the *Mythic Society's Journal* for October 1923, Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati has collected, with great industry, much valuable information relating to Mūladēva, a past master of the Arts (*kalas*), who was otherwise known as Kharapaṭa, Karṇīsuta, Kalāṅkura and Mūlabhadra, who had the professorial titles of Dhūrta-śikhāmaṇi; Dhūrta siddha, Dhūrtāchārya and other synonyms descriptive of his proficiency in and authorship of such works as the *Śṭēyaśāstra*, the *Kalāśāstra*, etc., who has figured in the *bhāṇa* called the *Padmaprābhritaka* attributed to King Sūdraka of the first century B.C., (?) and who must himself have flourished in the middle of the second century B.C., having been instrumental (as mentioned in the *Harshacharita*) in the murder of the effete prince Vasumitra, the grandson of the famous Suṅga (?) sovereign Pushyamitra, by an artifice quite in keeping with his own attainments in certain shady sciences and with the dissolute character of that royal victim himself.

I append below a few other references which relate to this interesting personality called Mūladēva and Kharapaṭa.

1. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., LL.B., has contributed a valuable paper to the *Modern Review** for December 1917 entitled 'Political Cipher-Writing in Hindu India', wherein he has quoted from the *Jayamaṅgala* commentary of the Vātsyāyana-*Kāmasūtras* certain extracts describing two, among several other, codes for compiling cipher-writing, known as the *Kauṭīliya* and the *Mūladēviya*, both of which were apparently named after their inventors, Kauṭīliya and Mūladēva respectively. These verses are the following:—

म्लेच्छतविकल्पा इति :—

यत् साधुशब्दोपनिबद्धमप्यक्षरव्यत्यासादस्पष्टार्थं तन्म्लेच्छितं गूढवस्तुमन्वार्थम् । तस्य विकल्प
बहवः पूर्वाचार्योक्ताः ।

तद्यथा कौटिलीयम् ।

दादेः क्षान्तस्य कादेश्चखरयोरुभयोरपि ।

विन्दूष्मणोविपर्यासाद्भौधमिति संज्ञितम् ॥

मूलदेवीयम् ।

अकौ खगौ घडौ चैव चटौ भणौ तपौ नमौ ।

यशौ रषौ लसौ चेति मूलदेवीयमुच्यते ॥

These verses would suggest that political espionage was perhaps also one of the many accomplishments of this 'Prince of Knaves' and that he invented a

* This reference was pointed out to me by my friend, Mr. G. Harihara Sastrj.

special cipher-code to help him carry on secret correspondence in connection with this delicate office.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that this cipher method called the 'Mūladēviyam' is known in Kēraḷa as the 'Mūlabhadriyam' and is sometimes being employed by the Nambudiri Brahmins of the older generation, in confidential talks among themselves.

2. The fragmentary play *Chārudatta*, which has been considered by some scholars to belong to the alleged cycle of Bhāsa's dramas, *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-chakra*,—an attribution which has been vehemently criticized by a different school of writers,—contains a reference to Kharapaṭa in its third act, where the thief Sajjalaka is made to offer dutiful obeisance to this Guiding Spirit of Thieves, on the eve of his nefarious activities in Chārudatta's house :—

नमः खरपटाय । नमो राक्षिगोचरेभ्यो देवेभ्यः ।

and to quote a subterfuge played by Aśvatthāma, in extenuation of his own premeditated sin of theft. This line reminds us strongly of a similar line in the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* of Mahēndravikramavarman, the Pallava king (c. 625)—

नमः खरपटायति वक्तव्यं येन चोरशास्त्रं प्रणीतम् । अथवा खरपटादप्यस्मिन्नधिकारे बुद्ध एवाधिकः ।

कुतः,

वेदान्तेभ्यो गृहीत्वार्थान् यो महाभारतादपि ।

विप्राणां मिषतामेव कृतवान् कोशसञ्चयम् ॥

where a similar invocation is offered to Kharapaṭa, and his authorship of a text-book on the thieving art is also referred to.

If Kharapaṭa was the same as Mūladēva, then the *Chārudatta* must belong to a period posterior to the middle of the second century B.C. and may not have been the work of the great dramatist Bhāsa, who has been attributed to an earlier period. On some other considerations also, scholars are not agreed as to its being a genuine production of that author and the view that it may have been an adaptation by a Kēraḷiya playwright has been holding the field. This Kharapaṭa reference does not, however, help us to decide the point one way or the other.

3. More important still is the reference to Kharapaṭa found in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (*Vākya-karmānuṣṭhāna-prakaraṇa*):—

तस्योपकरणं प्रमाणं प्रहरणं प्रधारणमवधारणं च खरपट्टदागमयेत् ।

and Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri has explained it thus :

उक्तस्य कर्मणः, उपकरणं रज्ज्वादि, प्रमाणं दण्डकशायायामः, प्रहरणं वेवनक्तमालादि, प्रधारणं दण्डनीयस्य स्थापनप्रकारः, अवधारणं च शरीरानुगुणदण्डप्रकारनिर्धारणं च खरपट्टत् कर्तृनामप्रसिद्धाच्चौर्य-शास्त्राद् आगमयेद् अधीयीत ॥

This point, therefore, raises two issues—namely, (α) that the identity established between Kharapaṭa and Mūladēva on the strength of a quotation from an anonymous *Kōśa* :

कर्णीसुतः खरवडो मूलदेवः कालाङ्कुरः — इति कोशः

is either defective, or (b) that the reference to Kharapaṭa in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (nearly fourth century B.C.) must be treated as a later interpolation. As scholars see no justification for this view, Kharapaṭa and Mūladēva may have to be considered as two different individuals, whose names coupled together by later commentators owing to the similarity in their achievements,—the one an author of a book on Thieving, and the other, an adept in such sciences and a professor who schooled his pupils in different departments of knowledge and who was himself implicated in the murder of a prince whose head he had, in the language of the poet, sliced off as easily 'as a lotus is shorn off from its stalk'.

A Note on the Malkangiri Coins.




BY CH. MUHAMAD ISMAIL, ESQ., M.A., M.F., M.R.A.S.

THERE are certain points which require elucidation in the article on the 'Treasure Trove coins' contained in the January Number of the *Mythic Society*, pp. 114-118. The object of this note is to discuss them.

(1) Coins 1-6. The writer says:—"On the reverse side of this coin appears the name of Umar; who this was is not known." On the obverse of it he reads "Saheb Quiran" which would be if correctly written "Sahibqiran," the lord of conjunctions, which term has been fully explained in their articles by Dr. Taylor and Professor Hodiwala in the Numismatic Supplement of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numbers XIV and XXXV respectively. The word Umar, I may point out, is the name of the Second of the orthodox Caliphs of Islam after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. In this case only a portion of the formula has been read which, if complete, reads:—

لصديق الرسول محمد بن عبد الله بن عثمان وعلم علي

"By the truth of Abu Bakr, and the justice of Umar, by the modesty of Usman and the wisdom of Ali." This formula was used not only by Shah Jahan but also by Murad Baksh, Shah Shuja, but also by Akbar with the substitute

of  .  for .

(2) Coins 7-41. No 39 bears the name "Muzaffer . . .". The inscription is incomplete and it must be read as a whole as "Abul Muzaffer Muhayyuddin Muhammad Bahadur Shah Aurangzeb Pashahi Ghazi".

Nos. 29 and 30 "minted at Chunar contain square areas" says the writer. I believe the coins are of Chinapatan, for coins of Chunar are not known or they may be quite rare and unknown to Numismatists if the coins have been read correctly, which I doubt.

Coin No. 46. If Shamsuddin is correctly read on the coin then it is altogether a new specimen, for Shamsuddin is not found on the known coins of this claimant to the throne. I suspect that the reading is not quite without mistake.

No. 62 (A) also has been described to be a unique coin. At least some description or tentative reading ought to have been given to justify to call it a unique coin:

The place of Malakanagar as found on coin No. 1507 of the Punjab Museum Catalogue may well be read "Malika Nagri" meaning "the town of the Queen" and thus may be identical with Malkangiri itself. Many Mughal mints of Southern India have not been found out and may still remain unidentified and this one may be one of the same category.

I may be allowed to suggest to the readers and contributors to this Journal that in describing coins the standard form should be adopted so far as possible, for that will enable Numismatists to judge whether a coin has been rightly described and how far the coin described is different from those already mentioned in standard books on the subject. The standard form is:—

King.	..	Aurangzeb.
Mint.	..	Nusratabad.
Date.	..	33 R. Y.
Metal.	..	(AR) Silver.
Weight.	..	177 grains.
Size.	..	09".

Obv. ..

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر
نور محمد نسرتاباد
رجب

Rev. ..

نور محمد نسرتاباد
رجب

Margin.	..	No margin.
Remarks.	..	Rare.
Province.	..	Purchased from Lucknow.

Again the coins should be photographed and should illustrate the article to make it more educative.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM

ARTHASASTRA VISARADA, VIDYALANKARA,

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., Ph.D.,

Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

TO

THE HON. SECRETARY,

Mythic Society, Bangalore.

SIR,

With reference to a letter from Mr. H. Bjerrum, published in the January issue of your Journal, regarding the existence of Sassanian manuscripts in the Jaganmohan Palace, Mysore, I have the honour to state as follows :—

On a requisition from this Office, the Huzur Secretary to His Highness sent over to me, a Picture-frame, containing the only Persian manuscripts that were in the Jaganmohan Palace. Mr. M. A. Shuistry, Assistant Professor of Persian in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, who kindly examined the manuscripts for me, is of opinion that they are all quite modern and have no historical value. A copy of his letter written to me in the matter as also a copy of his opinion furnished by him on each of the manuscripts is forwarded herewith for information.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. SHAMA SASTRY,

Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

Manuscript No. 1: In modern Persian. Date about 18th century. A few lines in praise of God.

Manuscript No. 2: In modern Persian. Date about 18th century. A letter in which he says that by the Grace of God on Wednesday the 21st, we have spent a good day and hope the same for our friends. The other sentences have no connection with one another.

Manuscript No. 3: A letter to a friend; a few lines in prose and a few in poetry; nothing worth translation. There is no date in it.

Manuscript No. 4: A letter dated Rabinssani 1186 Hijri.

Manuscript No. 5: A letter containing a few verses and a few lines in prose in which he mentions Sultan Sabuktageen who went out for a hunting and reached the forest of Kashkar. Seeing a deer he pursued it.

Manuscript No. 6: Five verses in Persian. Name of the poet is not mentioned. The first line runs thus :

"In pleasure and happiness may your lips smile; those lips which are sweet as sugar and teeth beautiful as pearls."

Manuscript No. 7: There are sentences without relation to one another. Some of them are in praise of a Prince. There is no date in it.

Manuscript No. 8: Letter to a friend. Date 18th day of the month of Rajab. Year is not mentioned.

Copy of letter received from Mr. M. A. Shustry, Assistant Professor of Persian in the Maharaja's College, Mysore.

There is nothing worth translation in these manuscripts. Sentences are repeated and the object is to show penmanship and good handwriting. Dates are not mentioned except in one which is 1186, *i.e.*, about 158 years old.

Books presented or purchased during the Quarter ending 30th June, 1926.

Presented by—

The Government of India.—

1. Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India, No. 19. "The Jam Masjid at Badaun and other Buildings in the United Provinces" by J. F. Blakiston.
2. Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India, No. 28. "Bhasa and the Authorship of the Thirteen Trivandrum Plays", by Hirananda Shastry, M.A., M.O.L.
3. Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India, An Historical Memoir on the Quth., Delhi, by Mr. J. A. Page.
4. Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1923-24.

The Government of Mysore.—

1. Proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly, Dasara Session, 1925.
2. Proceedings of the Mysore Legislative Council, February 1926.
3. Revenue Administration Report for the year 1924-25.
4. Do. of Excise Department do.
5. Do. of the Police Department do.
6. Do. of Electric Department do.
7. Mysore Season and Crop Report. do.
8. Annual Report of the Civil Veterinary Department for 1924-25.
9. Review on the Administration Reports of the Inam Villages under Government management in the several districts for the year 1924-25.

The University of Mysore.—

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1925.

The University of Calcutta.—

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XIII.

Mr. K. Ramavarma Raja, B.A.—

Comparative Studies (*contd.*), a Contribution to the History of Cochin.

The Research Department, Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore—

Report for 1917 to 1925.

Mr. B. Krishnappa, M.A., Mysore.—

1. "Yavana Mahavira Charitre" (Kannada), by B. Krishnappa.
2. "Ashoka Vijaya Nataka", by P. Padmanabhaiya.

Mr. M. N. Srinivasa Iyengar.—

1. " Arigannu. "
2. " Drishti Shastra Vivarane. "
3. " Nethra Chikithsa Darsa. "

Mr. C. Chakravarti, M.A., Kavyatirtha, Calcutta.—

" Pavanadutam of Dhoyi. "

Mr. V. R. Hanumanthaiya, Bangalore.—

" Kurabara Charitre. "

The Government of Madras.—

" A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts ", collected during the Triennium 1916-17 to 1918-19 for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. By S. Kuppaswami Sastri, M.A.

The Government of Travancore.—

" Srimat Bhagavatam Bhasha ", Edited by K. Sankara Menon, M.A., L.T.

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington.—

1. Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925.
2. An Archæological Collection from Young's Canyon near Flagstaff, Arizona, by J. W. Fewkes.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.—

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, No. 5, pp. 257-316.

" Algae of the Loktak Lake ", by Paul Brihl and Kalipada Biswas.

The Oxford University Press.—

The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations, by W. A. Gayne.

List of Subscriptions and Donations received during the Quarter ending 30th June, 1926.

Name	Volume.	Amount.		
		RS.	A.	P.
Messrs.				
F. R. Sell, Bangalore	XVII	5	0	0
M. G. Rama Rao, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
Dr. M. Srinivasa Rao, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
K. Ananthasami Rao, Bangalore	XIII	5	0	0
C. S. Kuppasami Iyengar, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
Dr. S. Amritraj, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
J. A. Yates, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
N. Shama Iyengar, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
Dr. A. K. Cumarasamy, Boston	XVI to XIX	11	12	0
N. Vyasa Ram, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
B. A. Saletore, Mangalore	XVII	3	0	0
R. Rama Rao, Mysore	XVI	3	0	0
Rev. J. B. Argaut, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
C. V. Narasaiya, Coimbatore	XVII	3	0	0
T. A. Swaminatha Iyer, Madras	"	3	0	0
B. Rama Rao, Madras	"	3	0	0
K. Ramavarma Raja, Cranganore	XVI	2	0	0

EXCHANGES.

I. The Editors of :—

1. "HINDUSTAN REVIEW," P.O. Box No. 2139, Calcutta.
2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY," British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," The "Times of Ceylon", Colombo.
4. "MODERN REVIEW," 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
5. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," Srirangam.
6. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.
7. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH," Vepery, Madras.
8. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST", The Library, Sinshu
Otani University, Kyoto.
9. "THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," Madras.
10. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," Mount Road, Madras.
11. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," Gurudatta Bhavan, Lahore.
12. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDIS-
CHEN GESELLSCHAFT," Halle, Germany.
13. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," Burdwan, Bengal.
14. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL
SOCIETY," New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
15. "THE KALPAKA," Tinnevely.
16. "EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," Madras.
17. "MAN," The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.
18. "DJAWA," Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.
19. "MAN IN INDIA," Ranchi, B.N.Ry. (India).
20. "THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," Mysore.
21. "THE MYSORE CHRONICLE," New Tharagpet,
Bangalore City.
22. "THE JAIN GAZETTE", Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street,
George Town, Madras.
23. "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," Navsari Chambers,
Outram Road (opposite Hornby Road), Fort, Bombay.
24. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA,"
Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.
25. "THE SHAMA'A," Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.
26. "VISHVA-BHARATHI," 10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta,
27. "NAVASHAKTI," Dharwar.

28. "THE SHRINE OF WISDOM," *The Hermetic Truth Society,*
Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton, London (21-3).
29. "WELFARE," 91, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
30. "MYSORE BLUE BOOK AND PUBLICITY JOURNAL,"
Bangalore.
31. "BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON," *Colombo.*
32. "KARNATAKA SAHITYA PARISHATPATRIKA," *Bangalore.*
33. "EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA," *Simla.*
34. "YOGAMIMAMSA," *Kunjavana, Lonavla, Bombay.*
35. "MAHARAJA'S SANSKRIT COLLEGE MAGAZINE,"
Mysore.
36. "THE MYSORE GAZETTE," *Librarian, Public Offices,*
Bangalore.
37. "PRABUDDHA KARNATAKA," *Karnatakasangha, Central*
College, Bangalore.
38. "INDIAN STORY TELLER," 164, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
39. "THE GUARDIAN," 86, *College Street, Calcutta.*
40. "THE YOUNG MEN OF INDIA," 5, *Russel Street, Calcutta.*
41. "THE PREMA," *Tungabhadra P.O.*
42. "AL-KALAM," *Bangalore.*
43. "VRITTANTA PATRIKA," *Mysore.*
44. "MYSORE CO-OPERATIVE JOURNAL,"
No 1, 1st Road, Chamarajapet, Bangalore City.
45. "INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY,"
**101, Mechnabazar Street, Calcutta.*
46. "THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY,"
Amalner (East Khandesh).
47. "THE KARNATAKA," *Basavangudi P.O., Bangalore City.*
48. "RANGABHUMI," *Basavangudi, Bangalore City.*
49. "INDIAN REVIEW," *George Town, Madras.*
50. "THE VEDANTA KESARI," *Madras.*
51. "JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY," *Madras.*

Publications from :—

- II. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona.*
- III. THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, *Simla.*
- IV. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna.*
- V. Do. "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY",
Bombay Branch, Bombay.

- VI. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF
BENGAL, *1, Park Street, Calcutta.*
- VII. Do. THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, *Pondicherry.*
- VIII. THE GENERAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- IX. THE REGISTRAR, *Chief Secretariat, Fort St. George, Madras.*
- X. THE REGISTRAR, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, *Mysore.*
- XI. THE REGISTRAR, MADRAS UNIVERSITY, *Madras.*
- XII. THE REGISTRAR, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, *Calcutta.*
- XIII. THE SECRETARY OF—
- (a) THE CONNEMARA PUBLIC LIBRARY, *Madras.*
 - (b) THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Hyderabad (Deccan).*
 - (c) THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.
 - (d) THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *Poona.*
 - (e) LE BIBLIOTHECAIRE, SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE,
1, Rue de Seine, Paris.
 - (f) THE PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Lahore.*
 - (g) THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington,*
D. S. (U.S.A.)
 - (h) THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD,
243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
 - (i) THE PURRA TATTWA MANDIR, *Ahmedabad.*
 - (j) THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY,
Town Hall, Fort, Bombay.
 - (k) THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,
172, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
 - (l) ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DES AMIS DE L'ORIENT,
Musée Guimet, Place d'Iena, Paris (XVI).
- XIV. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF—
- (a) ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, *Southern Circle, Madras.*
 - (b) RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, *Kashmir State, Srinagar.*
 - (c) ARCHÆOLOGY, *Trivandrum, Travancore.*
- XV. THE CURATOR, *Oriental Library, Mysore.*
- XVI. ASSISTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT
FOR EPIGRAPHY, *Madras.*

The Mythic Society

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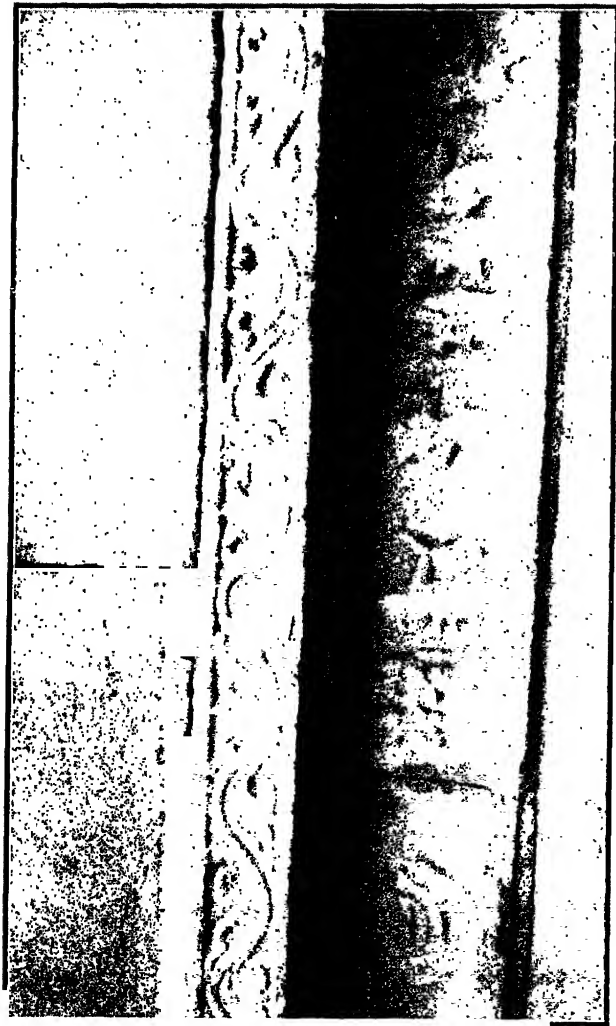
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Krishna Dēva Rāya receiving the homage of two Mussulman Prisoners
(*House of Victory*)

The
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of the
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OCTOBER, 1926

[No. 2

HISTORICAL CARVINGS AT VIJAYANAGARA.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

THE Chronicle of Domingos Paes, first published in English by Mr. Robert Sewell, is a suggestive piece of work for the historian who wishes to study the social life of Vijayanagara ; and the most striking confirmation of Paes's narrative are the carvings of the ' House of Victory ', as well as those that cover many walls and pillars in the half ruined Hindu temples. A comparative study of both chronicle and carvings as regards the social customs of the Hindu capital would be an attractive subject for a long paper, that would, I feel sure, be very welcome to all Indian scholars. But I am unable to apply myself to this study at present. I want to draw the attention of the members of the *Mythic Society* to some carvings of historical importance.

I.

In my last visit to Vijayanagara, when inspecting the carvings of the ' House of Victory ', my eyes fell on a carving half-hidden under the lower frieze, very near the floor where the huge platform stands. The carving shows seven persons. The most prominent one is the figure of a king seated on a throne with his left hand raised up. His right elbow leans against a cushion at his back. His right foot rests upon a stool placed before the throne, while his left leg is unnaturally bent over the right one in strikingly strained position. His face unfortunately has been thoroughly destroyed by a vandalic hand. In his rear there are two attendants or courtiers. The first figure in front of the king evidently is a general ; his right hand holds a sword unsheathed and raised, and with the left he is pointing at the three

persons that follow behind him. The two first are obviously two Mussalman prisoners. Their long beards and their gowns clearly disclose that they are disciples of the Arabian Prophet. Their hands are tied up. They are making their *salaam* before the Hindu Emperor. The second bows most profoundly. The third person of this group wears the same long gown as the two preceding ones, but he does not seem to be a prisoner, for his hands are loose. Perhaps he is a Mussalman of the town itself of Vijayanagara, who serves as interpreter. In fact he seems to be talking, since he has his left hand raised.

Who is this emperor and who are the two prisoners presented to him? Supposing, as it seems certain, that this building is the 'House of Victory', which is described by Paes as having been built by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, the emperor represented in this carving cannot but be this sovereign, the greatest ruler of Vijayanagara. Now according to Paes this building was erected after the conquest of the kingdom of Orissa. * This expedition was over in 1515 and Kṛishṇa's famous expedition against Rachol did not take place till five years later. † Hence the two Mussalman prisoners of the carving cannot be prisoners from Rachol. Besides, the carving is found in the second row of blocks from the ground in the basement of the building. We do hear of some other wars with Bījāpur prior to the Orissa expedition. ‡ Hence, we may suppose that the two prisoners were two Bījāpur nobles of the army of Ismail 'Adil Shāh.

II.

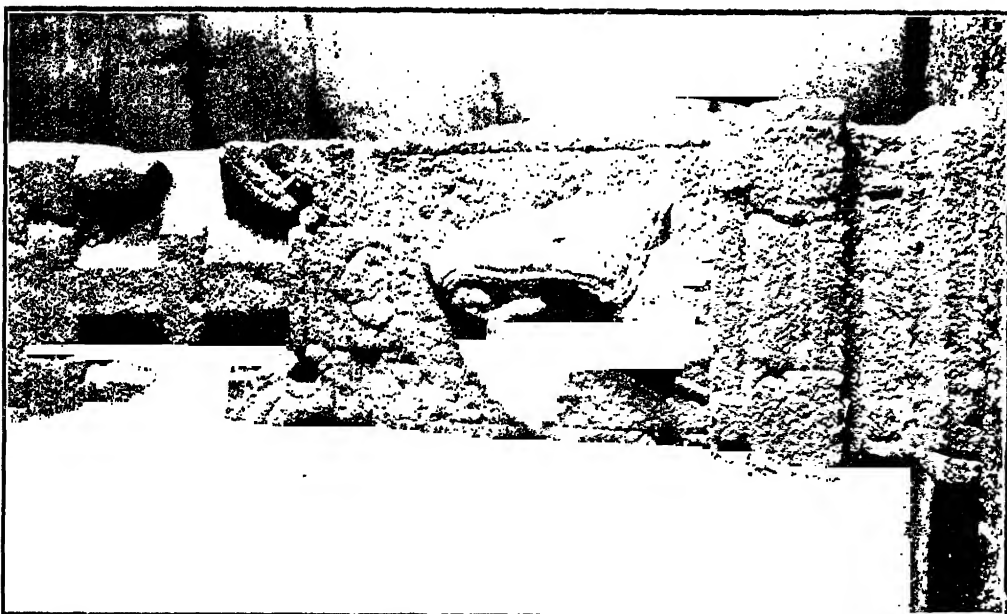
Two other interesting carvings were also photographed by me on this occasion. One is found on a pillar in the interior of the small Chandra Śēkara shrine at the south-east of the royal enclosure; the other on another pillar in one of the mandapas in the enclosure of Viṭṭhalaswamy temple. Both carvings seem to represent the same person. A man, covered with a cloak descending from his head down to his knees, is leaning on a long staff. He wears no other garment, excepting a short loin cloth. His right leg is turned over the left one, having the toes of his right foot perpendicular to the ground.

Images of persons leaning on a staff are not common in Indian iconography. I know of only three images of this kind, all in Kanarese country. Two are in Mysore: one is of Kempe Gowda I of Yelahanka, the founder of Bangalore, in the Ulsur temple and the other of Kempe Gowda III in the Somēśvara temple at Magadi. The third is a statue of the famous Yogi Garak Nath in the Kadri Hill, Mangalore.

* Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 263.

† *Ibid.*, p. 132.

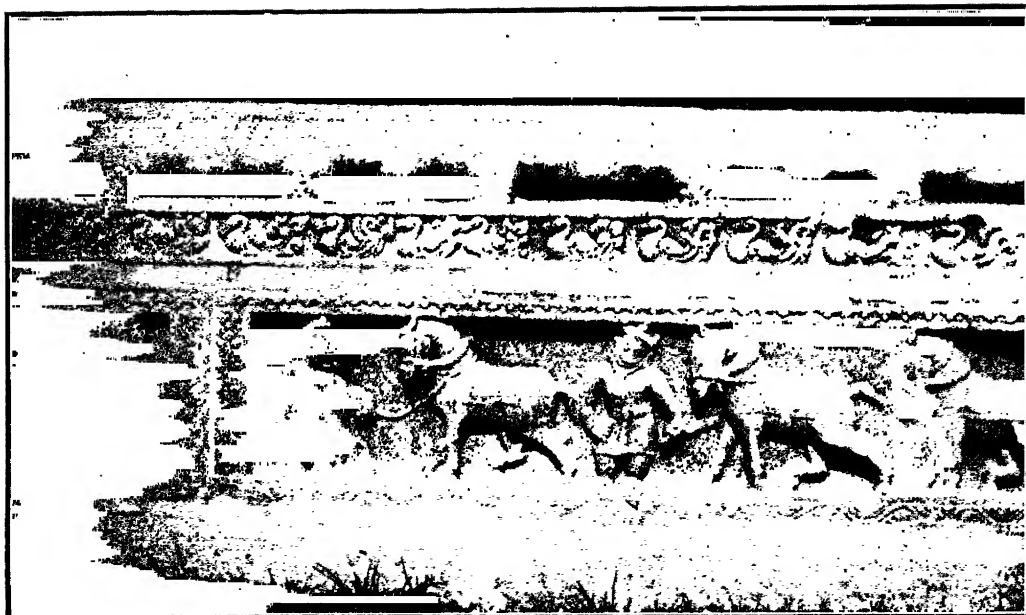
‡ *Cf. Ibid.*, pp. 125-6.



Kempe Gowda I (?)
(Chandrashekara Temple)



Kempe Gowda I (?)
(Tirthahallaswami Temple)



Portuguese Fidalgos and Horses
(*Vitthalaswami Temple*)



Frey Luis, Ambassador of Albuquerque to Krishna Deva Raya, and Portuguese Fidalgos and Horses
(*Vitthalaswami Temple*)

Now the two carvings of Vijayanagara marvellously resemble the carving of Kempe Gowda I. The cloak and scanty dress, the way of holding the staff and the position of the legs are the same. Could we not affirm that the two carvings of Vijayanagara represent the founder of Bangalore?

It is true we cannot assert this with that confidence we would have, if there was an inscription underneath saying that he is the famous Yelahanka Prabhu. Yet, I dare to make the assertion, first because the two images are alike, and then because of the fact that his relations with and even his stay at Vijayanagara coincided in time with the erection of those buildings.* Kempe Gowda I had already been favoured by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya; but after his foundation of Bangalore he was summoned to the court by Achyuta Dēva Rāya and granted the enjoyment of twelve groups of villages yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas. † The carving of his image in two of the temples of Vijayanagara may date from this time.

III.

On entering the premises of the Viṭṭhalaswami temple through the southern gateway, as I had studied and photographed a number of carvings on different buildings of the ancient capital the following question sprang up in my mind. Is it not strange that among such a numberless collection of scenes represented in these carvings, I have nowhere seen represented any Portuguese, who were always in such friendly relations with the Vijayanagara monarchs, on account of their trade in horses?

I then stepped into the temple. Some yards only separated me from the main shrine. Suddenly I remained motionless on the spot struck with admiration. After a while I called my companion Mr. Saif F. B. Tyabji, who was wandering somewhat behind, and asked him: "What do you think are these figures represented in those carvings?" Mr. Tyabji without hesitation replied: "They evidently are Portuguese."

It was true. It was not a hallucination of my senses. Some Portuguese *fidalgos* were represented there as the most eloquent confirmation of the *Commentarios de Affonso Dalboquerque* and of the *Chronicles of Paes and Nuniz*. I was as happy over my discovery as the most covetous merchant might be over a mine of gold.

All along the basement of the main shrine there runs an endless procession of horses and men, all of a size and not in their respective proportions something like the carvings of the tympanum of some Greek temples. The

* The Viṭṭhalaswami temple was commenced by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and continued by Achyuta Rāya and Sadāśiva Rāya. Who built the small Chandra Śēkara temple, I was not able to ascertain; but both the style and the good state of preservation show that the building belongs to the latest period of Vijayanagara.

† Puttāya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, Q.J.M.S., XIII, p. 724.

horses move along covered with trappings and the men that lead them by the reins are faithful portraits of the Portuguese *fidalgos* of the sixteenth century. Boots, trousers, coat and bonnet all belong to their ancient well-known apparel. But the most characteristic feature of these figures is their beard and moustache. The latter turned upwards and the former trimmed in triangular shape pointed downwards are two details that cannot be mistaken.

In 1512 after the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya sent an embassy to Albuquerque to obtain from him all the horses that might come to Goa from Ormuz and Arabia. The Emperor of Vijayanagara was badly in need of horses for his wars with the Deccani Muhammadans. Albuquerque willingly granted the favour demanded and even sent his envoy Gaspar Chanoca to Vijayanagara with some horses as a present to the great Hindu emperor.*

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya upon receiving this news must have been extremely glad and as a fitting souvenir of an event, that meant so much for the existence of the empire, he ordered that the first arrival of the Portuguese with horses should be represented on the basement of the gorgeous temple of Viṭṭhalaswami, which he began to build some years later.

But this is not all. In front of one of these mixed processions of men and horses and turned towards them, there is a strange figure that requires special attention. He is a bearded man, dressed in a long gown falling down to his feet; his head is covered with a queer bonnet, showing at least two of its angular points. His left hand holds a long staff. Evidently the person represented is a *Padre*, a priest of the Catholic Church.

Now we know that Frey Luiz, a Franciscan Friar, went to Vijayanagara as the first Ambassador of Albuquerque, in 1510.† He remained in the imperial capital for a year, and was finally killed by an emissary of the Sultan of Bijāpur, whose purpose was to impede the prospective trade in horses between Vijayanagara and Goa. Fr. Luiz could be called a martyr of this trade.

To commemorate the first Portuguese Embassy to Vijayanagara, as well as the tragic end of the Ambassador, the image of Fr. Luiz was carved on the basement of the Viṭṭhalaswami temple, facing the Portuguese merchants to whom he opened the gates of the great Hindu Empire.

The ruins of Vijayanagara are a precious source of information for studying its history. These notes on some of its carvings are the fruit of some eventful days passed among those desolate buildings and fallen walls. The glory of Vijayanagara may still be seen in the midst of the present desolation.

* Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 58-9; Heras, *Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portuguese*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XVI, pp. 72-3.

† Cf. Heras, *Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portuguese*, I, c., pp. 67-9.

THE OTI CULT, OR, MAGIC AND RELIGION.

BY K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, ESQ., B.A.

THIS cult is a form of Black Magic practised by the Parayas and other degraded tribes in Malabar (Malayalam country), by which they can make themselves invisible or assume the forms of animals,† such as the bulls, the cats, the dogs, etc., and inflict severe injuries on, or cause death of the person marked out. Pregnant women are more often said to fall victims to their witchcraft and to lose the contents of their wombs which the sorcerers are very fond of and carry away for their mysterious purposes. The word *Oti*† in Malayalam means 'breaking' and hence the object of the cult is said to be 'breaking the human body by magic'. (Mr. L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer's valuable Memoir or Monograph No. 7 on the Parayas later incorporated into his "*Cochin Tribes and Castes*" cited in "*The Living Races of Mankind*", Chapter XI, page 314.) After describing these practices in detail Mr. Iyer further on quotes authorities and cites instances to show that similar practices are also met with among the savage races of some other countries. "Among the Bushmen, the sorcerers assume the forms of beasts and jackals. Near Londa, Livingstone found 'A chief may metamorphose into a lion, kill any animal he chooses and resume his proper form.' Among the Mayas of Central America sorcerers could transform themselves into dogs, pigs and other animals"*** Mr. Iyer seems to explain this supposed transformation as due to a mental delusion or to a mistaken impression created by the sorcerers' loud cries in their wild jungle-haunts during dark nights imitating those of the beasts.

2. Although judicial or other official records are supposed to exist which bear testimony to the secret *Oti* practice of Malabar in former days none has unfortunately yet been unearthed and published in the interests of science. Hence such records of the savage cult of other countries have to be resorted to for further information and study. A decade or so back (1915) a remarkable book came out of the press giving "An account of the trials of Human Leopards before the Special Commission of Sierra Leone". This trial took place in 1912 following a succession of notorious or suspicious instances of cannibalism or blood-sucking alleged to have been indulged

† Not only of animals but also of other objects, it is said, such as a tree, a boulder, a pillar, etc., which by its fall may cause injuries and death.

† The word is also spelt as *Odi*. Among the Malagasy people in Madagascar the charms or amulets which they call '*Ody*' (or '*Owley*' *d* and *l* being interchangeable) play a prominent part in their life. "*The Living Races of Mankind*", page 446. "*Oli*" in Malayalam means "concealment".

in during the preceding period of twenty-five years by the organized secret societies of the savages living in the forested and marshy regions of that coast colony and hinterland protectorate. The book is an authentic record of this series of trials compiled by Mr. K. J. Beattie, Bar-at-Law. In reviewing the book in "*Man*" (February 1917, 22) Sir H. H. Johnston makes the following general observation :—"About twenty-five years ago, it became obvious to the colonial authorities of Sierra Leone that in the densely forested and somewhat marshy south-east region of that colony and protectorate secret societies of an evil nature existed, and that amongst their practices was a form of cannibalism carried on under the cover of simulated attacks by wild beasts. In almost all Negro Africa, there has existed down to quite recent times (as in the less civilized portions of Europe and Asia) a belief in the war-beast, the human soul entering into the body of some predatory mammal or reptile, or some transmutation of human and non-human outward semblances, under cover of which the devouring of human flesh or the sucking of human blood might take place." Sir Harry, though a great authority himself, did not suggest any explanation of these curious black art operations but was expecting a volume of interesting information on the subject from Mr. Northcote Thomas, the Government Anthropologist of the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

3. Some time later, M.A. Murray† contributed a series of original articles to the same Journal ("*Man*") on "Witchcraft in Europe" one of which was devoted to "Witches' Transformation into Animals" ("*Man*" December 1918, 103); it opens with the following explanation:—"The belief that human beings can change themselves, or be changed into animals, carries with it the corollary that wounds received by a person when in the semblance of an animal will remain on the body after the return to human shape. The belief seems to be connected with the worship of animal-gods or sacred animals, the worshipper being changed into an animal by being invested with the skin of the creature, by the utterance of magical words, the making of magical gestures, the wearing of a magical object, or the performance of magical ceremonies. The witches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries appear to have carried on the tradition of the pre-Christian cults, and the stories of their transformation, when viewed in the light of ancient examples, are capable of the same explanation. Much confusion, however, has been caused by the religious and so-called scientific explanations of the

† Neither Mr. nor Mrs. or Miss is found before the name. But the author is presumably Miss M. A. Murray who had contributed original articles on the same subject to "*Folklore*" September 1917, and "*The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*". 1916 1917 ("*Man*" May 1918, 46).

contemporary commentators as well as by the unfortunate belief of modern writers in the capacity of women for hysteria. At both periods pseudo-science has prevented the unbiased examination of the materials." Instances are then given from the European judicial records of the witches' trials in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to illustrate this position or theory which, while recognizing women's greater liability to the witches' attacks, limits the latter's power of transformation to the circle of their sacred animals or animal-gods. In some cases the transformation was not apparent but only conventional and in some others it was effected by wearing the skins of the animals and other masks, and by imitative cries and actions. And since the list of sacred animals is not the same for all countries and communities, assumption of any animal form may be explicable with reference to the varying local traditions and tribal customs. But Murray's explanation "that the witches, like the adorers of animal-gods in earlier times, attempted to become one with their god or sacred animal by taking on his form, the change being induced by the same means and being as real to the witch as to Sigmund the Volsung or the worshipper of Lycaean Zeus," seems to abolish the fundamental distinction between the magical practices and religious rites and to establish their original or ultimate unity,—unity of magic and religion—a position which has the strong support of Mr. E. S. Hartland while Sir James Frazer holds and maintains that these two are distinct and antagonistic. Mr. K. M. Panikkar writing on "the Religion and Magic among the Nairs" in "*Man*" (July 1918, 62) dwells on these divergent views and sides with Dr. Frazer in conclusion; but he entirely omits to mention or to make any reference to the Parayan's cult of *Oti* which is an important and integral item in the Magic of Malabar.

4. For my humble part I fail to see any deep cleavage in this endless and useless controversy which further seems to be tinged with a little of dogmatic prejudices and which I shall try to settle in this way. As the savage and the civilized are only at different stages of human progress and advance of culture, and as the pagan and the Christian are now drawn into mutual fellowship in religion, so magic and religion are but two different ways or modes of appeal to the 'Supernatural Powers that be'. Fortunately the world has reached a stage of anthropological study and philosophical speculation at which we may even assert that the so-called devil and the god are but different forms or manifestations of the One Highest and Supreme Power. Love and hatred, and kindness and anger are not mutually so inconsistent as they appear to be. For example, look at the tame meek mother cow fiercely attacking any man or animal approaching its offspring. Its anger is born of its affection for its offspring, or in other

words, a manifestation or operation of love.* The mythical 'Man-Lion' was a terrible form of the God Vishnu, but kind at heart towards the persecuted *Aśura* boy *Prahlāda*. Out of mercy towards this lad the God assumed the frightful form, grew very fierce and angry and slew his father demon who subjected his godly son to various cruel tortures and who was attempting to kill him. Let me quote here the commentator Sreedhara-swamy's pithy introductory stanza summarizing the purport of Chapter 8—Sk. vii of '*Bhāgavata Purāna*':—

अंतःकृपासुधापूर्णो बहिःक्रोधो द्युक्तेसरी ।

दैत्यैर्द्रमरिभावेन भजंतं समभावयत् ॥

“Filled with the nectar of mercy within, but terrible and angry-looking outward, the Man-Lion extended his gracious treatment to the Lord of the Daityas who bestowed his constant and personal attentions on the former as his inveterate enemy.” Any number of instances can be collected from our Puranic texts of gods and goddesses appearing as animals and assuming various forms to deceive and to punish the wicked demons and other evil-doers who were experts in the deceptive arts and whose oppression was intolerable to the inhabitants of the earth and the heaven. It would appear then that the magic of the higher order defeats the meaner one; and so the wicked demons met with defeat and death at the hands of their divine enemy who is described as '*Māyi-Māyin*' because his '*Māya*' or magic was bewildering to the magicians of the lower order and his power transcends the magic or '*Māya*' of the rival demons.

5. Fully conscious as I am that in this daring excursion into the regions of myths and fancies I have gone far beyond the regulation limits, I cannot yet stop here without touching, examining and emphasizing yet another important point—the element of *miracle*—which enters into magic and religion in varying proportions. The magician starts with the presumption that he through the agency of some supernatural power, in himself or outside, can work *miracles* and appeals to or exercises that power for producing some extraordinary effects which are nothing short of *miracles* and which are not expected to happen in the ordinary course of events, such as restoration to health or life; death or disease and their prevention and cure; loss or gain of property or wealth; success or failure in love quest and other enterprises, etc., etc. Religion also, in its earliest stages, invested its deity with supernatural powers to work wonders and enjoined its regular worship with prayers and offerings for its blessings and even miraculous help when necessary. *Miracle* was the test employed for proof of supernatural power of

* Conversely when two or more persons, tribes or nations are united by mutual alliance to defeat and overpower their common enemy whom they hate and dread, their friendship is born of hatred and dread.

god or devil. This thesis I have already enunciated elsewhere§ and since then, I have come across new explicit authorities to support and confirm it. But *miracle* in religion is not the original crude element it was in its early days but has been and is being gradually purified and refined in course of its adaptation to the advancing stages of human culture and civilization, and the Universe is now regarded as a scientific wonder or mystery ; while magic has not changed much. The past religious or sacred literature of every nation abounds in the legends of superhuman deeds of gods, prophets and saints to prove and establish their divine power and sanctity. Certain stanzas, among others, from the ' *Bhāgavata Purāna* ' (II—7—26-35) are my new authorities above referred to of which I shall quote the first alone here :—

“भूमेस्तुरेतरवरूथविमर्दितायाः
 क्लेशव्ययायकलयासितकृष्णकेशः
 जातः करिष्यति जनानुपलक्ष्यमार्गः
 कर्मणिचात्ममहिमोपनिबन्धनानि ॥”

“To relieve the distress of the earth oppressed by the army of the rulers of Asura descent, the God Vishnu will be born as Krishna incognito and unrecognized and will do superhuman deeds which will establish beyond doubt his divine omnipotence.” The succeeding stanzas recite some such instances with the same explanation. Starting with a form of Black Magic practised by the savages, I have come to the religion of the civilized tracing the element of *miracle* in all these stages ; and here I conclude.

§ Essay III, pp. 41—54, “ *Comparative Studies* ” (continued), August 1914 (Reviewed “ *Man* ”, March 1915, 28).

THE SEVEN DWIPAS OF THE PURANAS.

BY V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

(Continued from Vol. XVII, No. 1.)

Chapter XIV.

NEXT about the Śāka-Dwīpa.

It is no other than the land of the Śācae. It is so identified in Nando Lal Dey's Geographical Dictionary.

The Śācas differed very little from the Scyths to their north and west. Their seats at the dawn of history were mostly in the Dhātaki-Khaṇḍam of the Pushkara-Dwīpa or Eastern Turkestan, at the headwaters of the Tarim and its affluents. Whether they belonged to the same race as the Massagetae or not has not been cleared up. The probability is that they were all of the same stock. They were also a nomadic race, a pastoral community. They dwelt mostly in caves and hills. They built no houses or no substantial dwellings. The accounts as to their localities among ancient authors appear to be somewhat conflicting. But this conflict is more apparent than real. For in the late B.C. periods they were on the move from east to west fleeing before the Huns of High Tartary, and in their turn throwing themselves on the more civilized but less warlike races of the half-caste Greeks of Bactria and on the Budakshanis.

We found above that they were the neighbours of the Comedi to their east. Perhaps the Comedi were a branch of this race. The Śācae passed the Comedi montes. They overthrew the Bactrian kingdom and founded a powerful but short-lived dynasty there. Yielding to superior force they proceeded further west into Afghanistan. Later on they founded a principality there named after them as Seistan (Sigistan-Sacastan). They lodged themselves in the north-west corner of India, where they centralized and ruled for a brief period.

In Smith's Geographical Dictionary, we have this notice of them.

"Roughly speaking, we may say that, the country of the Śācae was formed by the irregular tract of land on the headwaters of the Oxus, and the watershed between it and the Jaxartes, a tract which included a portion of the drainage of the Indus. It is only a portion of this that could give the recognized conditions of Scythian life, viz., steppes and pasturages. These might be founded on the great table-land of Pamir, but not in the mountain districts. These latter, however, were necessary for residences in woods and caves."

Rennell says* :—"Herodotus regarded the Śacae as a Scythian nation and we learn from him that this name was given by the Persians indiscriminately to all Scythians. Strabo says, that the Jaxartes separated the Śacae from the Sogdii.

Diodorus places them beyond the Jaxartes. Ptolemy speaks of them as a great people situated between Casia, Bylta and the headwaters of the Jaxartes. Bylta is the modern Beltistan or Little Tibet."

The Geographical Dictionary says :—"Of the Śacae '*eo nomine*', the history is obscure. In one sense indeed, it is a non-entity. There is no classical historian of the Śacae."

D'Anville speaks of them as a great nation of nomads, who abode to the south of the Massagetae and dwelt in caverns and forests. They had no cities.

The province of Sakita, the name being derived from the Śacae, was to the east of Sogdiana, and this latter province itself was colonized by the Śacae in their exodus from their original abodes to the east of the mountains. Rennell treats Sakita or Sogdii as identical and says they were Śacae.

"Sakita was between the upper parts of the headwaters of the Oxus and the Jaxartes and the Indus. Ammianus describes the seats of the Śacae to be under the mountains Ascanimii and Comedus (Eastern), and joining to Drepsa, which may be taken to be Anderab, a province of Balkh or Bactria. The Śacas extended their name to the Scyths in general. They were a formidable and numerous nation."

Messrs. Skrine and Ross in their work, the "Heart of Asia", have given a synopsis of the fortunes and adventures of the Sakas when they stood together as a distinct nationality.

The following account is taken from their work.

About B.C. 300, the Hiung-nu (Huns) : (Sanskrit, हूणाः), a Tartar tribe, whose habitat was Eastern Mongolia, started giving considerable trouble to the Chinese Empire of the time.

In B.C. 250, the Chinese built the great wall which was carried over a distance of 1,500 miles. This intimidated the Hiung-nu who turned westwards the tide of their migration. At this time the Śacas were settled in Hexapolis (the province of Kashgar), to the east of the Pamirs.

About B.C. 300, the Yue-chi (the ईजकाः of Sanskrit) extended their empire over much of Eastern Turkestan.

About B.C. 200, a war broke out between the Tungnu and Hiung-nu, and the Yue-chi were driven from their kingdom.

* Geography of Herodotus, p. 220.

For fifty years the Hiung-nu continued to press down on the Yue-chi, who after suffering a crushing defeat broke into separate hordes.

The lesser division or little Yue-chi passed into Tibet. *The great Yue-chi, after some wanderings, finally descended upon Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan, whence they displaced the Śācas* (about B.C. 163).

The Śācas on their expulsion from Kashgaria invaded Bactria; and, from this period until the fall of Bactria, the Greeks had to contend both against the Śācae and against the Parthians.

The Yue-chi gave further trouble. The Śācas were driven towards the Pamirs and the Thianshan. Some of them crossed the Karakoram and invaded the north-west of India. The Yue-chi had become very powerful in Bactria and Trans-Oxiana.

The Greeks lost their hold on Soghdiana in B.C. 163. A little later they were deprived of Bactria by the Śācas. But the Śāca domination in Bactria was not of long duration. For the Yue-chi began to pour into Bactria. Meanwhile the Śācas retreated southwards and occupied in turn Kipchin, Soghdiana, Arachosia (Kandahar) and Drangiana (Sistan). The Śāca invasion of India was directly due to the usurpation of their country by the Yue-chi.

* * * *

In the Pādma and two other Purāṇas an interesting item of information is associated with the Śāka-Dwīpa:—

उच्चैर्गिरिरैवतकोयत्र नित्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

रेवती दिवनक्षत्रं पितामहकृतोविधिः ॥

“There is the lofty mountain of Raivataka over the height of which stands eternally the star Rēvati of the sky, for such was the decree of the creator.”

The meaning of this verse is not clear. The statement in the verse is based on a legend which, however, is not given in this context, nor in every Purāṇa.

So far as I know at present, the story is given in three Purāṇas.

- (1) Dēvi-Bhāgavata, Introduction, C. 5. (2) Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa, C. 72.
- (3) The Skānda-Purāṇa, Vol. 7, Book 2, Chapter 17.

It is to this effect:—

A R̥shi of the name of R̥tavak (Truth-speaker) was a pious and holy man. He had a son who turned out a reprobate on coming of age. He was ill-starred, and, almost from the time of his birth, his parents were afflicted with disease and want. They pined away in deep sorrow and distress. But the latest escapade of the young man drove them nearly mad. He seduced

a married woman in his neighbourhood and went away with her. The holy man broken-hearted repaired to Gargāchārya, a great astronomer and astrologer, to lay his grievances before the wise man. The man of science pronounced that the fault lay with the star Rêvati, in the fourth quarter of whose progress the boy was born. The Ṛshi's anger against the star knew no bounds. He cursed the star that it should fall down to the earth. The star lost its place in the firmament and, falling down toward the earth, *lighted on mount Kumuda*. There it stopped. The effulgence of the star on the hill was so great that it bathed in a stream of light the mountain and the woodlands all round as far as the eye could reach. According to one Purāṇa (the Mārkaṇḍēya), the mass of light was liquified into clear limpid water and formed a mountain tarn. Out of the water of the lake was born (according to another Purāṇa, out of the luminosity of the star) a little girl radiant in beauty like Venus Aphrodite. The baby was brought up as a foster-child by a Ṛshi of the name of Pramuca who had his hermitage on the slopes of the mountain.

When the damsel grew to marriageable age, the Ṛshi was greatly exercised in his mind to find a fit and proper person to take her for wife. It so chanced that the king of the land, Durdama or Durgama, called on the Ṛshi one day, to pay his respects, as the king had proceeded close to the hermitage on a hunting excursion, and it might be a slight if he did not visit the Ṛshi.

The king saw the girl in the Ashrama. The Ṛshi offered her in marriage to the king. The offer was accepted. But here trouble came on from a most unexpected quarter. The girl was named Rêvati in memory of the star from which her birth was deduced. She affirmed that she would not marry except under the star Rêvati. But that star had long gone out of the sky. She maintained, however, that no other star would satisfy her wishes; and she would rather go without marriage than be wedded under any other star. The Ṛshi gave her the story of the fallen star to account for its disappearance from the moon's path. The maiden urged, however, that, if the Ṛshi were of the true type, he should be able to set up the star again in the firmament in its proper place. The girl's remark wounded the pride of the Ṛshi, but he could not say 'yes' and he would not say 'no'. He would however attempt it. He made an effort and succeeded. He spoke: 'Let the star Rêvati again go up to its place in the sky.' At once the star shot up like a rocket and ascended to the constellation which was her proper home and there took her place again. There was now no difficulty in the way of the girl. The nuptials were celebrated with due Vedic observances. The king went away accompanied by the bride and the blessings of the Ṛshi, leaving the mountain and the hermitage behind.

I have no knowledge of Astronomy. But I am informed that there was a tradition among Indian astronomers, that the leading star of the constellation (Pisces) Rēvati, such as was known in the first instance, had become a dark-star at one time, and ceased to be visible for an appreciable period; and that it regained its luminosity subsequently, after some interval of time.

It is probable that the Purāṇic fable was constructed to explain this phenomenon.

Its significance for the purpose of this essay consists in two facts. That the mountain on which the star lighted was named *Kumuda*, and that it was in *Śāka-Dwīpa*. The mountain was apparently renamed Raivataka after the incident of this fairy tale.

This Kumuda as shown above was Comedus mons. That the Śācae were at least the neighbours of the Comedi is undoubted. According to Ammianus and Ptolemy, the Comedorum montes were in the country of the Śācae.

The Śācae and the Comedi were mixed up; and, if they did not form one nation, they certainly occupied one country. It is quite conceivable that until Gomeda was erected into a Dwīpa, the Comedian district should have been regarded as a province of Śāka-Dwīpa; and thus we find in the above legend mount Kumuda allocated to Śāka-Dwīpa.

The legend provides important corroboration of data already presented about these two Dwīpas.

Chapter XV.

I shall now speak of Kuśa-Dwīpa, the solution of which is simple and, it is hoped, will be readily accepted. For, from the early periods, it appears to have been fairly well known.

It would appear that there were also two Kuśa-Dwīpas known, Kuśa-Dwīpa within and Kuśa-Dwīpa without.

It is the land of 'Cush', the Biblical 'Cush'. George Stanley Faber, in his "Origins of Pagan Idolatry", says in Vol. II:—

"What the Greeks called Ethiopia, the sacred writers denominated the land of Cush. The Hindu geographers speak of Cusha-Dwīpa within and Cusha-Dwīpa without, meaning by the former the vast tract of country which comprehends Persia, Babylonia, Bactria, Cashgar, Boutan and Thibet; and by the latter, those African districts separated from them by the sea, which were also colonized by the descendants of Cush and to which we at present exclusively apply the name of Ethiopia.

The same idea may be found in the use, by some European writers, of the terms Asiatic Ethiopia and African Ethiopia.

If I may venture to make an observation on Faber's exposition, I would suggest that his definition of Cusha-Dwīpa is much too wide.

The Dwīpa ends on the east with the Amu-darya and the confines to the west of upper India. It is the country between the Tigris to the west and the Amu or Oxus and the Indus to the east. This, however, does not matter. That Faber's definition as stated above is too wide appears from what he himself has said in another part of his great work.

In Volume I, he says:—

The Cushites were in two Ethiopias. The countries occupied by them were called by the Greeks Ethiopia; and there is some confusion in some classical writers from the fact of Asiatic Ethiopia, as a geographical division, *known to some, being unknown to others*. The Asiatic Ethiopia *extended from the Tigris to the Indus* and was the Cusha-Dwīpa within of the Purāṇas, the African Ethiopia *being the Cusha-Dwīpa* without.

The name survives in the modern Khuzi-stan (Kuśa-stān), which is the ancient country of Elam and Susiana.

'Kuśa' in Sanskrit means 'sacrificial grass'. This seems to be a secondary application. For 'Kuśa' means also water and next what grows in water, e.g., 'Reeds, Sedge', etc. Now, the Purāṇic explanation for the name of the Dwīpa is to the effect that there is a colossal Kuśa plant in the Dwīpa, thousands of yojanas in height with a stem or trunk of proportionate magnitude.

The Sanskrit word Kuśa has also another form Kutha. अस्वीकुशकुथोदर्भः † It is surprising to find that the word Cush has also the same two forms and the nations of Cush were called Cushites or Cuthites.

The word 'Kuśa' as the name of the Dwīpa is not to be understood as Sanskrit.

* * * *

We shall next proceed to discuss Plaksha-Dwīpa. The solution in this case also is easy to suggest.

The Purāṇic note about the origin of the name is that there is a huge Plaksha tree in the Dwīpa of several thousands of yojanas in height. The Plaksha is a well-known tropical tree and grows almost everywhere in southern India. I do not think it grows in the lands with which the Dwīpa is presently to be identified; nor is there any reason to believe, in the case of this Dwīpa, any more than in the case of the other Dwīpas, in the reality of arboreal explanations.

The name was obtained by Metathesis from Pelasgia (Plagsia-Plaksha).

† Amara's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam*,

It was the land of the Pelasgi, inclusive of Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus, the Peloponnesus, the Isles of the Aegean, etc. The Pelasgians were an ancient race, lost to history under their proper name but rendered illustrious, according to some writers, as claiming the ancestry of the Greeks, the Romans, and some other nations of Europe.

According to Herodotus, the Athenians were certainly Pelasgi. The Hellenic race was a Pelasgic race which separated from the main body, and at first was scanty in numbers and of little power.

Thucydides explains that the various tribes of the Pelasgi became Hellenized by the voluntary placing of themselves under Hellenic guidance.

Says Niebuhr :—" Amid the countless number of opinions on Greece, we are strongly inclined to adhere to the view that formerly *all Greece was called Pelasgia*, and that it was inhabited by the people of the Pelasgians. It is well known that the name 'Hellas' is of later origin. The Pelasgians are mentioned in Crete. Herodotus says that the Ionians were Pelasgians, and the Dorians, Hellenes. The Pelasgian race commenced on the Propontis, on the frontiers of Bithynia proper. From thence they occupy the coast lands of Asia Minor. We then find them in the isles of the Aegean, in Chios, Lesbos, Lemnos, and Imbros. From thence to Macedonia, corresponding to the later Epirus. They must have been in Illyricum also. In the north they extended along the whole coast, even to the north of the Alps. In Italy they were on both coasts. The whole of southern Italy belonged to them. The greatness of the Pelasgians lay beyond historical times."

I venture to suggest that Niebuhr's observations have not suffered much by the cynical criticism to which they had been subjected by some learned writers.

We may safely take it that the Plaksha-Dwīpa of the Purāṇas was the Pelasgia of ancient history.

* * * *

I will now speak of Śālmala-Dwīpa. The name is deduced from a Tree—cotton tree (which in Sanskrit is Śālmala) stated to exist in that Dwīpa, of thousands of yojanas in height. This Dwīpa is in reality *Sarmatia* and the Sanskrit *Śālmala* is a corruption of that name. The extensive province of Sarmatia and the manners of the Sarmatians have been noticed already.

* * * *

The last Dwīpa for discussion is the first in the list, *viz.*, Jambū-Dwīpa. The name is now understood to signify the whole known world ; and, as a new continent or ocean or island is discovered it becomes part of Jambū-Dwīpa.

The Purāṇas say that the name has been acquired by reason of a certain colossal tree of the Jambū species (*Eugenia Jambolana*), the 'rose-apple' tree.

Before proceeding further it is desirable to take note of a few Sanskrit words.

The Sanskrit word '*Jambuka*' जम्बुक means a jackal. '*Jambāla*' जंबाल means 'mud, clay, an aquatic plant'. '*Jambālinī*' is a 'river', जंबालिनी, i.e., 'having mud'.

In the case of these words no acceptable etymology is given. But they can all be satisfactorily explained on the footing that there must have been a primitive root or word now obsolete जम्ब or जम्बु meaning muddy or slushy or watery, etc.

'Jambuka', the jackal, is so called because it infests swamps and marsh-lands. Jambāla means mud. I rather think that this was originally an adjectival form passed as a noun. Jambālinī is a river as 'abounding with mud, muddy'.

Jambū-Dwīpa is from the same source. It was a land of swamps, bogs, fens, marshes, etc.

It was the land, in all probability, to the north of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, the land through which the Borysthenes (Dnieper) and the Tanais (Don) made their way to the Black Sea.

Speaking of this part of Russia, Rennell says:—"The gulf of Perekop must have been the grand estuary of the Borysthenes. The Crimea was an island, the isthmus may have been under water until the canal of Constantinople burst. *The ancients appear to have known the nature of that singular and extensive chain of muddy lakes that border on the north and north-east of the Crimea, and which are described in different languages, by names that signify putrid mud or stagnant waters.*" The Sanskrit name was presumably 'Jambu'. Some recollection of such names may be recognized in the denomination, 'Putrid Sea', still extant, of an arm of the Sea of Azov, formed by the interposition of the peninsula of Arabat, in the north-eastern section of Crimea.

It used to be thought at one time that the undivided Aryans had their abode in Central Asia, on the Pamir Plateau or thereabouts. I believe this theory cannot now be maintained. Leading scholars are now inclined to hold that the undivided Aryans were probably never out of Europe. M. Victor Berard who wrote in 1894 his work, '*De L'origine Des Cultes Arcadiens*', speaks to the following effect:--

"But to-day it appears to be debatable whether the original home of the Aryans was ever out of Europe. In lieu of looking for this home on the

plateau of Iran or on the plains of Bactria, some writers have placed it in the heart of Germany. Others locate it on the shores of the Baltic. *Others yet, and with considerable probability, as Benfey has already indicated, find this central home in the extensive plains of Sarmatian Russia, in the fertile region of the black soil spread out between the mouths of the Danube and the Volga."*

This was the land where mighty rivers with impetuous currents created at their embouchures, muddy lakes, creeks and estuaries, all over the northern coast-land of the Euxine, with the upland steppe country in the perspective. This country was the original of the Jambū-Dwīpa of the Purāṇic texts, with humble pretensions, but soon to find its name extended to the whole of the known world. We find a parallel for this in historic periods in the use of the proper name, 'Asia'.

The importance which the name Jambū-Dwīpa has obtained in Purāṇic conceptions, and its survival to the present day from ancient times, point to the fact that the ancient Sanskrit Aryans believed that their ancestors had their abodes in a quarter which, by tradition, was known as Jambū-Dwīpa. No doubt, they passed out of the Dwīpa, but they carried the idea with them as the snail carries its shell with it. Whichever country they entered was to them Jambū-Dwīpa, irrespective of its physical geography. The origin of the name Jambū-Dwīpa must have been forgotten when the climatic conditions which gave rise to the name had passed out of memory. The name would remain without awakening any historical reminiscences. As the peregrinations of the Sanskrit Aryans took them over a vast extent of Asia, the territory traversed was necessarily Jambū-Dwīpa. When they passed into India, this country was also included in the vast orbit of the ever-expanding Jambū-Dwīpa. After some time, however, India by itself would appear to have been regarded as Jambū-Dwīpa. In later periods the denomination was again extended gradually to the whole of the known world, after fable and romance were allowed to intrude into geography. But the idea of the seven Dwīpas was an ancient conception, when the Jambū-Dwīpa was of humble dimensions with the Plaksha-Dwīpa on the one side of it and the Sālmala-Dwīpa on the other. The reader will be agreeably surprised to find that, in the list of the Dwīpas, the more approved sequence places Plaksha and Sālmala as the second and the third of the Dwīpas, and the Jambū-Dwīpa as the first.

The scheme of the Dwīpas as explained above does not include India. To the framers of the scheme, whoever they may have been, whether in higher Asia or Europe, India must have been *terra incognita*. It was beyond the Hindukush and the Himalaya.

The accuracy of the explanations given above of the seven Dwīpas is not to be tested in the light of the later advancement in geographical knowledge, or in the light of a map of Asia in a modern atlas. It can only be tested with reference to the knowledge of the world's geography possessed in remote periods by persons who should be accounted well-informed in their age. I mean to say that in discussing this matter we should not make the mistake of reflecting into the past the knowledge we possess at the present day. The accounts which have come down to us from ancient writers on geography, and the maps which have been constructed to elucidate their conclusions, make it very clear that their ignorance (for which we cannot blame them) was great. Of Asia in the north and east they knew little or nothing. The Caspian had an outlet to the northern sea. Ptolemy's Imaus was prolonged right up to the northern ocean which, if traced on the present maps, would find itself in the latitude of the northern shores of the Caspian Sea. The Scythias were limited on the north by this ocean. In Strabo's scheme little is known farther east than India. The vast expanse of China is nowhere.

Ptolemy's Indian Ocean was land-locked like the Mediterranean, and all to the south of it was *terra incognita*. Even in late periods, all knowledge of Africa was confined to the northern portion, a mere fraction of the vast continent. It was part of Kuśa-Dwīpa.

The scheme of the Dwīpas must have had its origin in a very remote past. The framers of the scheme had hardly any knowledge of the countries to the west of the Pelasgian lands, and to the east of the Imaus. They thought that the northern ocean lay about where we now trace the Ust-Urt plateau on the map.

India was shut in by the grand mountains to the north, and nothing was known about the lie of the land even if there were a glimmering idea of the existence of some land there. The scheme accordingly embraced the regions more or less known when it was framed. Whether from the commencement the list comprised the identical names we now find, it is difficult to tell. We may be certain, however, that Gomedaka Dwīpa must have been a late introduction, and the name Pushkara of the early Buddhistic period.

Bhāskarāchārya, the author of the *Siddhānta-Sīromani*, the astronomical work already mentioned, lived in the twelfth (?) century A.D., and yet his notions about the distribution of land and water on this globe were very queer. He divides the earth into two equal portions. The northern half of it is land in entirety and is the Jambū-Dwīpa of the Purāṇas. In the southern half he places all the oceans and all the other Dwīpas. He found himself in a difficult situation. As a scientific man he could not indorse the fantastic

absurdities of the Purāṇic story. But he had not the courage to reject them altogether. He had, however, to find all the Dwīpas and the oceans on this planet. He knew that the story of the concentric formations, and alternations of land and sea, was a mere fable. He had to make the best of the matter. His solution shows that, after all, however good his knowledge of Astronomy was, his knowledge of the Earth's superfecies was very poor.

The framers of the scheme of the Dwīpas had no knowledge that beyond Pushkara-Dwīpa or Turkestan there was any land. It is therefore not surprising that we should find it as the last. Beyond Pushkara-Dwīpa which is the outermost circle of land, there is the ocean of drinkable water; beyond this is a circle of metallic land, if I may say so, for it is all burnished gold. Beyond this is a mountain range reaching up to the skies, named Lokāloka†. We do not know what the truth about this name is. It is interpreted to mean "Visible yet invisible". The explanation for this is that the sun's circuit is limited to the Pushkara-Dwīpa; and, as it is the outermost of the concentric circles, the sun illumines all the *inner* Dwīpas, as he proceeds on his rounds skirting the Manasottara mountains, but not the *outer* land, if any. It is possible, however, that the mountain-climbers of the Manasottara Everests may occasionally catch a glimpse of the Lokāloka range through some fissure or cleft in their own mountain. Hence the visibility and invisibility of the Lokāloka range.

The statement about the existence of this mountain range is based on a widely prevalent notion of ancient times, well known in Babylonian Cosmology, that there is a mountain chain running all round the world, at its extremest verge, and supporting on its peaks the vault of the sky.

Addendum in Re 'Kraunca'.

After a considerable portion of this essay had been published, I had the benefit of further study in the matter of the Kraunca Dwīpa; and I believe that I am now able to give the correct explanation as to how the Dwīpa came to be designated by that name.

The Tamil grammar devotes a section to poetics. Therein we find regulations about the proprieties to be observed by poets in the description of countries, peoples and their manners. Climatic conditions are differentiated in only five divisions. For each of these divisions the physical features, vegetable productions, religious worship, and the usual occupations of the residents are indicated.

One of these divisions is named Kurinji or Kurinchi Nilam. This is stated to be highly mountainous, and it is noted that the god worshipped

there is Skanda. In an essay which I have got in hand ready for publication, I have had to discuss this matter. Therein I have endeavoured to show that the original Kurinchi Nilam was Lycia and that the god Skanda referred to was the Lycian Apollo.

In that essay I deduce the Tamils and allied races of South India from the province of Lycia.

The Tamil word 'Kurinchi' was in all probability the ancient native name of Lycia in the Lycian dialect. The Sanskrit 'Kraunca' is an adaptation of that word—the name at first of Lycia, extended in the scheme of the Dwīpas to Anatolia.

THE GROWTH OF ART IN EUROPE.

BY BHAVACHITRA LEKHANA SIROMANI N. VYASA RAM, ESQ.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

IT is not quite easy for me to convince you fully how difficult it is for one like me to speak about a subject which, though in its essentials common to the whole world, is yet so foreign to us in every way. I take it more keenly because sometimes I claim to base my views on the misinterpretations of Indian art made by persons who are foreign to art and often foreign even to India. As such when I take it upon myself to speak about a subject which is equally foreign to me I know I am as much open to an opportune retort from the other party. However, my purpose, as I have mentioned already, is not to speak of European art from our point of view alone but mostly from their own as their own spokesmen have represented things. In speaking about the growth of art in Europe my purpose is not merely to trace the various stages of technical development in the line during ages. It is my aim to point out how art has been the harbinger in most cases of the future of every country. It is my aim to call to my aid in convincing you about this, the evidence that history has to offer, that I might place before you as clearly as I can and as effectively, the function of art in life. It is also one of my purposes during to-day's talk to lay before you not only the progress of the *artists* of Europe but also the progress and growth of *artistic consciousness and appreciation* among the European public. It is not, however, possible for me to give you any detailed idea of their artistic evolution within the compass of an hour that is at my disposal to-day but I shall merely attempt to create an impression in you, such as will serve our immediate needs and purpose. Another great drawback I must admit, which hinders me from creating a lasting and vivid impression on your minds to-day, is that I have to depend on your powers of imagination in following the trend of my ideas in the unavoidable absence of a magic lantern.* Against these varied obstacles, my being a stranger to the subject, the actors and the scenes of action thereof, the comparatively short space of time within which to deal with a history of centuries, the lack of means by which to place before you concrete and visible representations and reproductions of the works of the various artists, I shall try to feel my way, armed powerfully, with your sympathy and generous partiality in my favour, which I have already once enjoyed and confident of enjoying in my further talks.

* Illustrations were given by means of a magic lantern on 4th October 1926.

After the fall of Italy and before the Renaissance, grew up in Europe a stiff, rigid and lifeless form of art under the influence of Byzantine artists. The first herald of the spirit of the Renaissance, St. Francis of Assissi, brought life closer to Religion by purifying the latter. Under his influence Nature was reconciled to Religion and encouraged the development of art under a more favourable atmosphere. It was about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. that the first man to break away from rigid tradition in art, Giovanni Cenni of Florence was born. His disciple Giotto, inspired by the master's spirit of rebellion in art, and stimulated by the corresponding quality in himself, became a leader of the new school of realistic thought. His faces were becoming more alive and the warmth of blood on them took the place of the cold, bloodless features of his predecessors' productions.

Giotto found that art was in such a rigid and dead state that human representations seemed scarcely human and as it has been well said, "the infant Christ looked like a wizened old man" and the adult Christ "an awful judge". He gave the first impetus towards what later became known as the realistic school. The artists inspired by him strove to approach to a closer representation of the appearance of realities. Towards this end they began concentrating their efforts on three main problems: the study of perspective, the study of anatomy, of nude bodies in repose and action, and the detailed truth of facts in nature, animate or inanimate. This gave a stimulus to landscape painting on the one side and the study of the human body with the nude model on the other. This method of study gave wide scope for imaginative development which was backed up thoroughly by Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Sippi after the death of Giotto. While these two were engaged in developing the imaginative aspect of art the technical problems were dealt with and brought into existence by Uccello, the first artist who introduced perspective into his pictures. In Uccello we see the spirit of scientific research and study that had then pervaded Florence.

Birth of Oil Painting.

All this time paintings were done on wooden panels mostly and they took a long time to dry. It is said that an artist Jan Van Eyck, towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, was drying one of his panels after varnishing, in the sun. He had to leave it long in the sun before it was dry enough. But by some mischance for him which proved to be a unique opportunity for the world, the wooden panel having been heated a little more than was required, began to crack, thus disfiguring the whole painting. The artist much affected at heart, in his endless endeavours thereafter to find out some medium for painting which could dispense with this process of sun drying, discovered that linseed oil dried soon and at the same time gave a

brightness and softness to his pictures which hitherto he had never achieved. This delighted the artist immensely and he took to it immediately. Thus one misfortune for a single artist came to the world as a blessing in disguise to preserve from destruction the many master-pieces in art that were yet to come.

The rapid pace which the spirit of realism was taking in art could be easily judged when we see that about 500 years ago, when there was no art of photography, this great artist painted "the man with the pinks". This picture baffles even most modern experts in its astounding and life-like realism, depicting every little feature that was needed to represent character and present to us not a picture of a man but the man himself in flesh and blood.

While Jan Van Eyck and his brother Hubert spread the realistic art from their Flemish home, the revival of art in Italy began with Niccolo of Pisa in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was during the middle of the fifteenth century, however, with the birth of Leonardo da Vinci that Italian art began taking rapid strides. Leonardo was one of the most remarkable of men of all times, a wonder to contemporary and succeeding generations. It is said that he was expert in many activities. His development lay along many lines. A poet, a musician, a blacksmith, an athlete, an artist, an orator, everything that man could desire was he. It was such a man that gave a vigorous stimulus to the art of his country. His master-piece, the well-known "Mona Lisa" with the mysterious smile is still an object of wonder and admiration. It is believed that in no other person has the spirit of the Renaissance been so completely summed up and expressed.

Ghirlandaio, a contemporary of Leonardo da Vinci, teaches us how *true beauty is to be sought in character and not in physical proportions* as the pagans before him believed. To this end his great master-piece, "the portrait of an old man and his grandson" was painted. The grandfather looking all benevolence and affection, in spite of his hideously deformed nose and the child looking up to him with unbounded love and perfect trust cannot fail to show that however deformed the physical features may be, it is the beauty of character that appeals to the right-minded.

A later contemporary of Leonardo, the most striking figure in the history of European art, Michael Angelo, brought art to a state of perfection which left little for his followers to do. Primarily a sculptor of unrivalled capacity and reputation he was obliged to do painting work also as a result of the jealousy of some of his contemporaries. But a genius like his was not to fail at the moment of a critical trial and to the chagrin of those that intended to place him in an awkward situation, Michael Angelo painted a series of

paintings which display not the slightest hesitation of hand but a masterly touch and treatment such as becomes but an adept in that art. Every touch of his a master-piece, always employed by princes and popes, never lacking in work, life was all cruel to poor Michael Angelo who rarely received his full payment for his works. The tide of fortune ever turned against him at the psychological moment and the artist starved himself out to death. It is strange to think, however, that a genius and an outstanding figure for all posterity should have been so unfortunate. In his statues he embodied such perfect development of physical form as was rivalled only in the ancient art of Greece. And when he had to turn his attention to painting, this perfect knowledge of form stood him in good stead so that his figures in painting display a more sturdy and muscular development than the works of his contemporary Leonardo.

Among the contemporaries of Michael Angelo was another great master Raphael who kept up the new spirit of art at its height. One of the most vigorous exponents of Realistic art and a product of the Renaissance, Raphael has been held up as a model for artists even of the present day. His last master-piece the "Transfiguration" representing Christ floating over the Mount between Moses and Elijah, a group of excited persons gathered round the boy that was possessed of devils is considered one of his most inspiring paintings. It would seem, however, that this realistic aspect was overdone in this painting in which the boy looks much more muscularly developed than his age could warrant, and the figures of Christ, Moses and Elijah, quite human in their physical features floating rather unnaturally in the air. If the new spirit demanded a close approach to the facts of nature, this aspect, however, which was more mythical than natural to more delicate and sensitive eyes, is rather a jarring element. Apart from these two facts the painting is one of the highest achievements in European art. This last painting of Raphael was placed at the head of his corpse when he died in his thirty-seventh year, much to the grief not only of his friends and admirers but the whole of Italy. Unlike his contemporary Michael Angelo, Raphael found happiness enough in life and was ever favoured by frail fortune.

The Renaissance Artists.

Giotto and Niccolo heralded in their breaking away from the stiff, cold and bloodless Byzantine tradition in art, the coming of the flood of the Renaissance. As Alfred Thornton rightly puts it, "their genius enabled them to draw from vast accumulations of psychic energy in the unconscious; accumulations due to repression for centuries of the particular form of activity of which they became the exponents." The feeling of resentment against the oppression of formal rigid thought and culture that resulted in the

Renaissance, found its first vent in the art of these two pioneers; and as products of the Renaissance, embodying its principle in all its vigour and fulness the masters, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo and Raphael, stand without a peer.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century flourished many other artists each contributing his own special feature towards the growth of art. Titian among them, brought up from very childhood with the awe-inspiring dramatic elements of nature, *expressed her majesty and drama in his works*. Of him it is said that female models were used only in case of utter necessity and as far as possible he relied on his powers of observation and imagination. One of his master-pieces the "Magdalen" is unrivalled in expression of the most perfect sincere repentance. It has been well said that the eyes fixed on heaven, their redness and tears still within them give evidence of her sorrow for the sins of her past life, moving all who behold it to compassion. Titian drew his inspiration not in the delicate aspects or expressions of nature but in her robustness and mature development so that his women are neither old nor too young, but enjoy a robust, mature womanhood.

Giorgione, a contemporary, who was fond, passionately fond of music, not merely depicted various topics of musical interest but wanted every painting to aspire to a condition of music so that his foremost aim was to create "*a melody of line and harmony of colour*". One of his master-pieces in painting "the Christ bearing the Cross" is so life-like and moving in its expression that it is said to have worked miracles on those that came to see it in the church where it was hung.

As one of the finest colourists and an exponent of feminine beauty and charm Correggio of the same period counts among the greatest of the world's artists. His colouring is considered to be so soft when painting flesh tints that hardly an outline could be traced in any of his pictures. It is all a mass of soft shades and tints such as, *pleasing the eye, please through it the senses*, this being his sole principle. His paintings of women are defined by contemporary and modern critics as hymns to the charm of femininity the like of which have never been known before or since in Christian Europe. The glory of Italy reached its zenith by the end of the fifteenth century and the death of the last great master Tintoretto in 1594 A.D., closed a memorable epoch in the history of Italian painting the spirit of which reappeared in other lands. The largest painting in the world, eighty-four feet by thirty-four feet, called the "Paradise" in the Ducal Palace was painted by Tintoretto. His master-piece, however, was a smaller picture, "the miracle of St. Mark".

The Reformation.

Just as it fell to the lot of Giotto and Niccolo Pisano to herald the Renaissance the task of heralding the approach of the Reformation was the proud privilege of the greatest of German artists, Durer. In him we see a man with a grim determination and a penetrating eye capable of piercing through the future. More famous than his paintings and more popular in consequence were his many wood engravings which helped him to spread broadcast his ideals of life. He introduced a sturdy style of portraiture and the grimness of his own outlook revealed itself in the features of his figures so that even his pictures of women have more manliness in them than normal. His most famous engravings are "the four horsemen of the apocalypse" and "the great fortune". In the former are seen four horsemen riding together at furious speed representing conquest, war, famine and death. The latter a much discussed picture represents the goddess of fortune, Nemesis, with "bridles in her left hand to curb the mad designs of the proud and ambitious". The figure of the goddess is rather hard for us of this century to admire but the idea embodied deserves all praise and these engravings of his prepared the way not a little for the first note of the Reformation that Martin Luther had to sound in 1517. Albert Durer in his works anticipated this spirit of the Reformation and was always on its side until his death in 1528 which removed him as Martin Luther himself mentioned that "he who was worthy only to see the best might not be compelled to see the worst".

This spirit of the Reformation anticipated in the art of Durer found itself in another great German artist, Hans Holbein, about thirty years later. While the grim awe-inspiring features of *Durer's painting were the height of the spirit of medievalism, Holbein became the first exponent in art of Modern Science in the realization of man's insignificance amidst the irrefutable facts of Nature.* Though Holbein did many paintings and was continually in touch with royalty, like Durer his fame and popularity depend more on his series of engravings. One of his most famous series is the Dance of Death in which he shows Death dogging the heels of the high and the low, the Cardinal and the Pope, the miser and the farmer. This realization of his that "*whoever you are, you could not escape death that is always dancing at your heels,*" he tried to reveal in as many of his works as possible. To this end even in his portrait paintings he ingeniously inserted a human skull as a piece of decoration and sometimes in place of his signature, for his name meant a skull.

Caravaggio, a Flemish artist of the latter part of the sixteenth century, realized that Italian art was decaying, because the later artists began to

imitate the art of the early masters. He felt that art based on art always led to decadence and degeneration and gave a new impetus to painting by turning to the vast resources of Nature for his subjects. He was the first founder of naturalism in art and he chose his subjects from among the most commonplace incidents of daily life. The card cheaters, one of his greatest master-pieces, is a wonderful reflection of human psychology. In this are depicted two card players each choosing his cards with a cunning eye and in the dark back-ground could be discerned a pair of stealthy eyes of a friend of one of them who cunningly reveals with his two fingers the card about to be chosen by his adversary. This artist employed, besides, another method of treatment to enhance the dramatic aspect of art. He made the shades darker than natural thus giving additional light to the main features in a picture through which his idea was expressed. This system of his was so striking that through Ribiera he made his influence felt in Spain and Holland, to a large extent reflected in the art of Rembrandt.

Rubens and Van Dyck inspired by the same ideal each revealed it in a sphere of his own, the former in his landscapes and the latter in his portraits. To Rubens Nature did not present any mystic awe. He looked upon her as a strong man respecting strength. It has been remarked that his trees look like fat children who have just had their breakfast. It is *the mature rejoicing of Nature* that appealed to him. Van Dyck, the psychologist that he was, mirrored in his portraits not the bodies merely but the very souls of his sitters.

Velasquez in the seventeenth century gave a mighty impetus to the art of Spain. Employed from early youth as court painter to young Philip IV, he tried to convince his successors that it was not the subject but the treatment that mattered most. He received his inspiration not in the selection of newer and newer subjects for painting but in *seeing better and painting better things he had already seen and painted*. This view led him to paint innumerable portraits of his king out of which but twenty-six survive to-day, the rest having been destroyed by the great fire that followed the fall of Spain. Each succeeding portrait revealed a softer treatment than its predecessor and revealed newer lights till then unseen. He is the one artist who laid supreme emphasis not on the subjects or the various aspects of his models but *on the perfection of the human vision* to such an extent as to add something new to the same subject with each fresh effort.

At this time flourished in Holland the great artist of the Dutch Republic, Frans Hals, most of whose works being done during the excitement of war. One of his master-pieces, the painting of the Reunion of the Officers of St. Joris Shooting Guild, reveals the dawn of hope and confidence in ultimate

victory of the Dutch. This painting evidently tempted some of the other officers to have themselves similarly portrayed and the commission fell upon Rembrandt *who never executed commissions but expressed his own thoughts*. He was the greatest psychologist in portraiture known before or since and the democratic spirit in art that permeated the Flemish artist Correggio had already got the better of Rembrandt and the painting of these officers called the *Sortie* or the night watch, though regarded now as a supreme master-piece of the expression of dramatic intensity was then thoroughly disliked by those who employed him. Like Correggio he made the shades very dark revealing only faces and hands mostly, sometimes well lit, sometimes partially lit. Though the faces could all be identified they were all enveloped in such darkness that the officers were thoroughly displeased. But unfortunately this turned the tide of Rembrandt's fortune and his practice immediately fell considerably landing him in sufficient troubles. The nobility of the democratic ideal of Rembrandt is wonderfully revealed in his portrait of an old lady. The face reminds one of the sweet lines of Walt Whitman, "a young woman is beautiful, an old woman is more beautiful," and shows us clearly that *while physical beauty is skin deep only, and fades very soon, beauty of character endures during and even after life*. He always looked for the marks of age and experience on his originals which gave him a continual source of inspiration.

Thus while Frans Hals working in the excited period of Holland's struggle for liberty represented Holland's gallantry of action, Rembrandt, in her peaceful days that succeeded the war of independence, portrayed her profundity of thought and the new democratic spirit that was a hit against human vanity.

The seventeenth century was the most glorious period of Dutch art. In this period were born the greatest geniuses of painting in Holland. After the settlement of the Dutch Republic, the people could afford to turn their attention to the normal realities of daily life and Dutch Painting unlike that of other countries was intended more for the home than the State or the Church and it is here we could realize the extent to which the Dutch artists appreciated the beauties of Nature. Most striking in the history of all art is the attempt made during this period by some Dutch artists like De Hooch and Vermeer to paint the beauties of sunlight. It was the sole aim of De Hooch *to capture and bottle sunlight* as he said. His paintings all display the wonderful effect of sunlight creeping into the interior of houses stealthily. His paintings of "The pearl necklace," "Interior of a Dutch house" and "A girl reading" are remarkable examples of his mastery in depicting sunlight. In the last of these we find a girl basking in the sunlight, reading and a brilliant patch of sunlight on the floor opposite to her. It is really a

delightful picture and the Interior of a Dutch house in representing a brilliantly lit hall, the sunlight playing on the figures there, makes even the spectator wink his eyes as though dazed by actual sunlight. In this we see not merely the capacity of the artist in portraying the pleasant effects of sunlight but also the healthy normal appetite of the Dutch for fresh sunny weather. It was at this same time that France produced another sunlight painter Claude, who is known as the first artist who set the sun in the heavens. This artist went a step further than De Hooch or Vermeer and his ambition drove him to paint the very source of that light which is the life of all creation. In his painting "The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba" we find the sun in the heavens radiating brilliant warmth and light all around and being wonderfully reflected in the water below.

This ambition to paint sunlight is but a more concrete form of our *Gayatri* and *Surya Japa*, intended to help mankind, by concentrating on that source of Light and Life, to derive as much of *Prana* as possible. It is further an unconscious indication of the growing tendency of the period to get at the truth of things, the beginning of the spirit of Scientific Research, the desire to progress from darkness to light.

It was also at this same time that William Van De Velde and Rinsdale, both of them Dutch artists, gave a strong impetus to Sea painting. The sea which was equally the glory and the terror of this little country inspired the artists much and marine painting received its first impetus here in consequence. Rinsdale was famous for his furious seas and De Velde for his scenes of calm seas and shipping subjects. The thought of having the scene of their triumph and constant action painted, tempted the sailors to go in for marine paintings thus encouraging this new development in art. And by the beginning of the eighteenth century art in Holland had begun to degenerate, the rapid rise that was due to Rembrandt, Hals, De Hooch and Vermeer being succeeded by an equally rapid decline after the death of these great masters.

The Revolutionary Era.

The art of France and Spain during the eighteenth century was one of conflict. There were at this time two schools of thought in existence in France, the one consisting of people like Boucher and Fragonard, the other backed up by Watteau, Chardin and Greuze. These two sets of people worked to attain one thing but in two different paths. They were anxious to evolve a characteristically national style of painting for France. The former based their efforts on the models of the older Italian masters and tried to develop an aristocratic grand style. The latter led by Antoine Watteau rebelled against this aristocratic spirit and began directing their attention to

the commonplace in human life and sowed the seed of the democratic spirit. Just at this period Goya, a Spanish artist, in his paintings anticipated the revolutionary era that was near at hand. He began his attacks against the phantasies of the Church and the vanity of Royalty. His aim though very clearly expressed in his painting was not understood by the Court or the Church but the people realized its full significance, for it was but a concretised vision of their repressed feelings.

In the eighteenth century the art of France was so aristocratic that the French Royal Academy was intended only for wealthy artists. The members could not exhibit their productions elsewhere for money and one who did so was expelled from the academy. The French Revolution that followed gave a fuller liberty to artists to exhibit their works in public. The new Government in spite of its strain in other ways encouraged art by awarding scholarships and instituting prizes, by organizing fresh museums and exhibitions. Though art received an impetus from the French Revolution, the productions of this period, were rather cold and bloodless as the spirit of the times. Though the people were anxious for a change of sovereign, the new terrors of the Napoleonic reign were equally a dread to the public. At this stage the Spanish artist, Goya, who strongly wished the downfall of the Bourbons, was much grieved at the new tyranny his countrymen had to undergo. As a result of this intense feeling of compassion he painted a series of war pictures in which he revealed the human beast unchained, one of the most ghastly representations being the shooting of deserters by a court-martial of Napoleon. This is considered to be the most awful war picture ever painted. He beautifully depicts therein the bloodless mercenaries shooting at the innocent victims who fall and pray for mercy in all despair a human being is capable of. Goya's attack against the Church and Royal vanity at this stage was very interesting. One of his wonderful paintings dedicated to Charles IV whose Court painter he was, in spite of his hatred of the Court manners, contained a corpse rising from the grave and writing with its finger "Nada" meaning nothingness. The degeneration of aristocratic society of this time is well illustrated in Goya's painting of the Duchess of Alwa. The Duchess is said to have had a weakness for the artist and gave him a nude pose which he painted for his personal use and pleasure. Apart from this, Goya must be taken as having acquired intimate knowledge of the degenerate condition of high society of his times, when we learn that his morals were rather loose and he was looked upon as a terror of the husbands of aristocratic women.

The conflict between the grand style of the classic art of Italy and Greece and the democratic realism that heralded the approach of the Revolution continued even after the restoration of the Bourbons until at last

a band of unrelenting, furious pioneers of the democratic school like Delacroix, Corot and Millet began to free French art from the tyranny of Italian influence. These three by breaking away with an iron hand from the chains of classic tradition, established firmly the modern school of art in France the first seed of which was sown by Antoine Watteau. Delacroix exhibited one of his pictures of political life "The Barricade or Liberty guiding the People" at the French Academy and created a tremendous sensation. It was a representation of a street scene during the Revolution of 1830 and at the same time an allegory of the liberty of art and literature that the spirit of the times aimed at. Excellent as a work of art, and equally capable of inspiring political feelings of a rebellious nature the only way out of the difficulty was seen in the Director of Fine Arts purchasing the picture for the academy and keeping it hidden from view. Corot specialized in reviving the spirit of landscape painting while Delacroix waged his war against the antique in portraiture. Millet, one of the leaders of modern French art, was democratic out and out. He laid great emphasis on representing the dignity of labour and all his subjects were chosen from the peasant class. His masterpiece perhaps, the Sower, created a tremendous sensation, when first exhibited, as a depiction of the dignity of labour on the one hand and an allegorical representation on the other of the Present sowing the seeds of the Future.

The Course in England.

When the art of the Continent was undergoing so much of confliction, the foundations of modern art in England were being laid by a series of great artists, each a leader in his own line. Hogarth, the most famous artist of England, began his life-work in establishing the Democratic spirit of art in Britain. He hated the ways of the aristocracy, and one of the first artists who used their talents to produce pictures that could reach the masses, Hogarth published a series of engravings of popular themes which gained him no ordinary repute. He was constantly *aiming at revealing the shallowness of the aristocracy* so that none among the higher classes ever dared to give him a sitting. He invented themes of popular dramatic interest and painted or engraved them in series. One of his most popular series is that of "marriage à la mode" in which he shows how there is no real love in aristocratic marriages, which breathe invariably treachery and underhand dealings ending in most pathetic tragedies.

Richard Wilson, the father of British landscape, paved the way for Turner and other nature artists, bringing into his pictures, scenes of common daily interest. While Hogarth revealed the Democratic in art his contemporary Sir Joshua Reynolds did his best to revive the classical art of Italy, this task having been later taken up by Lord Leighton. During this century

were produced artists like Romney, Raeburn and Gainsborough. Romney's masterpiece "the Parson's Daughter" anticipates in its style the future school of impressionism that held its sway over many European artists later. It has been aptly said that his sweetness and simplicity in portraying women has the same tender reverence for sex as in the Vicar of Wakefield. During this period various experiments were made in the scheme of colour in painting and the method which Romney adopted towards his last days was to apply broad patches of colour which, at a distance, would produce a very soft effect. The idea that it is not the treatment merely but the subject that mattered most, again began to flourish. It was not enough to be precise in drawing merely. Each painting *must enshrine a noble idea. It was expression which was really to be aimed at in art* and the need for all unnecessary antiquarian details was dispensed with.

It was at this time that Sir Joshua Reynolds challenged that it was not possible to paint a human being in shades of blue alone. The challenge was immediately taken up by his constant rival, Gainsborough, who painted the Blue Boy to prove that equal realistic effect could be attained even in blue colour in its various depths. This perhaps and partly the influence of Japanese art prompted Whistler, the Victorian artist, to produce his series of monochromes under the head of symphonies.

The greatest portrait painter Scotland has ever produced, Raeburn, became so popular, with his systematic method of work, that, judge him even by the crudest and most imperfect standard of money value, we realize in what esteem he is held by the public when we learn that one of his works produced at an exhibition fifteen years ago, the British sale room record for a British portrait, the amount of 22,300 guineas.

As a result of the impetus given by Richard Wilson in the eighteenth century and Claude, Rinsdale and De Velde in the seventeenth century British art in the eighteenth century centred more round landscape painting, represented by Turner, Constable, Cotman and Crome and a host of others. The influence that Claude's masterpiece of the embarkation of the queen of Sheba exerted over Turner, was so great that he painted one of his finest landscapes "Dido building Carthage" of which it is said he was so fond that after his death he desired it to be wrapped round the corpse and buried with it. Luckily, however, for the world he made a better choice and bequeathed it to the National Gallery and desired it to be put up beside the painting of Claude's as a perpetual challenge.

In George Moreland of the same period we recognize the spirit of the French Democratic artist Millet. His paintings were mostly of the labouring classes.

At this period came into existence a school of artists known as the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood" originally founded by Rossetti, Holman Hunt and Sir John Everett Millais. While it was believed till then that Da Vinci, Michael Angelo and Raphael were the beginners of a new school, the Pre-Raphaelites argued that Raphael was the last artist of a noble school—the classical. These three artists wanted to revive the Italian spirit in art and began moulding their works on the models of the early Italian masters. Though they mainly based their art on the imitation of another art, Rossetti, in name belonging to the Brotherhood, introduced in his art his poetry so that he was gradually beginning to drift away from the classical style, and formed a style all his own. These new-spirited artists introduced however, in European art of the nineteenth century, a more minute appreciation of nature. Though at first jeered at by the multitude of contemporary artists, with the steady patronage of Ruskin they became a recognized force.

The paintings of Rossetti were invariably dreamy. His sister and aunt generally posed for him and his poetic nature reflected itself in his style.

Everett Millais, another member of the Brotherhood, was equally patronized by Ruskin and he became famous for his commonplace subjects and style in art. One of his masterpieces "The Order of Release" in which a wife brings the order of release for her prisoner husband and handing it to the warder receives her husband, her little babe sleeping peacefully on her shoulders, the family dog eagerly fondling the master, is one that posterity can never forget. The expression of grateful exultation on her face about to burst forth in tears of mingled joy and sorrow, reveals the touch of a master-hand.

Sir Edward Burne Jones, the most prominent pupil of Rossetti, carried his tradition after the death of his master and gave a more ethereal touch to his figures that suggests more the dreamer and philosopher that he was.

G. F. Watts, the philosopher and preacher in paint as he was known, introduced into European art something higher and more ennobling than any of his contemporaries. Of his ideal in art he once said, "*my intention has not been so much to paint pictures that charm the eye, as to suggest great thoughts that will appeal to the imagination and the heart, and kindle all that is best and noblest in humanity.*" And it may be said that to a considerable extent he achieved his ambition. He believed that it was not enough to portray noble aspirations. It was also equally the duty of the artist to point out the vices of his fellow-creatures and utter a deep warning to those that stray from the paths of duty and morals. One of his most beautiful paintings of "Hope", sitting blindfolded on the globe that has been three-quarters drowned nearly, still singing her song on the one remaining

string of the lyre, has rightly been acknowledged the masterpiece of this noble-minded artist.

One of the most interesting artists of the Victorian era, and one of the first to be influenced by Japanese painting, an American by birth but who lived and worked for the great part of his life in England, was Whistler. Influenced by the simple grandeur of the landscapes of the Far East, Whistler issued a series of monochrome paintings as referred to once already, under the heads of *Symphony in white*, *Symphony in black* and *Symphony in brown*. A portrait of his mother he painted in grey and called it an *arrangement in grey and black*. This new kind of paintings roused a vast amount of controversy and unfortunately for the artist and his country, John Ruskin, the great and invariably sane critic of art, became roused against Whistler's art and began to denounce him outright. In fact, the controversy took such an extreme course that a case of libel was instituted by the artist against Ruskin and though Whistler literally gained his cause ultimately the Court decreed in his favour the payment of one farthing as damages. This cost the artist his credit in the financial world and having sold his belongings to satisfy his creditors spent a few years in Venice and later in Paris. There he established his reputation by his perseverance and good cheer. He won his enemies to his side by his wit and when his name was firmly established he had a splendid reception in England where afterwards he spent his last days in peace as the artist of fashion.

Friends, I have tried to take you hastily over a period of about six centuries of artistic development in England, France, Holland, Spain, Italy and Germany. Instances here and there I have also tried to point out where artistic tendencies predicted similar tendencies in life and politics. With your permission let me now take you to what, perhaps, we might consider as one of the most interesting periods of artistic growth in Europe which in the restless state it displayed towards the end of the last and the earlier part of this century, had been anticipating the great cataclysm of 1914. This must needs be of greater interest to us as the facts are within the range of even the personal experience of most of us here.

Premonitions of the Great War.

New waves in art flowed from France. Courbet and Manet started the theory of impressionism which was taken up by a host of others. The first thing they observed in nature was the absence of lines and the harmonious fusion of colours with one another that produced a soft and soothing effect. They gave up in consequence the marking of any trace of an outline but blended their colours with one another in soft harmony. They next realized that it was not necessary to paint every detail in a picture. The eye has only

one focus and can only see one thing at a time. In a picture the main object catches the attention of man and his focus is directed towards that. And the other objects become vague and indistinct in proportion to the extent of discord between his focus and the particular objects. This required the substitution of simultaneous vision in place of a consecutive vision. In an impressionist picture there is only one focus throughout, while in a Pre-Raphaelite picture there is a different focus for every detail. Whereas the Pre-Raphaelite looked particularly at a series of objects, the impressionist looked generally at the whole. Another fact on which this new school was based was that by mixing colours on the palette they lost their brightness. Colours were all the result of light in different degrees of intensity and must be painted as such. Instead of mixing up the colours on the palette before applying it on canvas they applied patches of pure colour on the canvas in such association with each other that at a distance the desired mixture would appear in the vision of the looker-on. Thus this association of minute touches of colour set up a quivering vibration that had greater luminosity than any one ready mixed colour. To illustrate this clearly, if the artist wished to paint violet he did not mix the red and blue on the palette and paint on the canvas but applied side by side minute touches of pure red and pure blue in such juxtaposition that the distant effect was better than otherwise possible.

This same principle of simultaneous vision of the Impressionists was embodied by Auguste Rodin in his sculpture. Rodin, the greatest sculptor of modern Europe that could be ranked only with Michael Angelo, felt that sculpture was but the art of the hole and the lump. Consequently if he had to represent a portion in deep shade it was achieved not by careful and minute working of every detail but of creating a hole deep enough to appear dark enough. This great sculptor took France by surprise by his masterly treatment of sculpture that he gave a mighty impetus to that art which was much neglected after the death of Michael Angelo.

As these ideas advanced newer theories were put forth. Younger artists argued that painting was no science but an art, the main object of which was the expression of emotions and not the representation of appearances in minute detail. In consequence of this theory they aimed at the maximum of powerful expression with the minimum of technique. It is interesting to study pictures of this period, Cezanne being one of the leaders of this new thought, in which there were a few dashes of colour and a few strokes apparently rash and drawn at random but on the whole producing a powerful effect. It is *the power and force of expression* that became the primary concern of the Impressionist. The feeling was rapidly creeping in, that art, like life, had too much strayed away from its original path in the course of

these centuries and the Impressionists sounded the first call, "Back to Nature".

Gauguin, a furious enthusiast, quarrelling over this theory with a friend replied, "Your civilization is your disease; my barbarism is my restoration to health". This ideal of 'back to nature' found at this time sufficient support among the intellects of the day as a revolt against the hyper-scientific development of painting as of life in its various aspects. Younger artists argued that if modern civilization was diseased equally so was modern art. The only way to restore it to normal health was by starting it afresh like children or savages. As a result of this feeling they discarded all their old masters of painting and sought their inspirations in the crude primitive art of the savages. Thus developed another reactionary movement known then as the Fauvist movement. Matisse, a pupil of Gauguin, developed this further and adopted the method of distorting features wilfully to emphasize particular expressions.

The next aspect that this wave of revolt in art presented is the much discussed theory of Cubism. The originators thought that a reformation in art was possible only when we went to the primitive store. In the primitive condition all objects were crystal in form. To restore art to its primitive condition it was necessary to draw features, human and otherwise, with the help of different crystalline and geometrical shapes. They argued that "Strength was Beauty, and that straight lines were stronger than curved lines". To give powerful force of expression it was necessary to dispense with curved lines and construct every picture in straight lines and crystals. The result of these theories was that series of puzzle pictures in which we see a conglomeration of various geometrical forms, which one could make neither head nor tail out of.

Yet another set of ambitious artists now thought that art could represent movement if it could represent anything at all. I admit my thorough helplessness at this juncture in being unable to give you a clear idea of the productions of these artists. They aimed at depicting things in motion. For instance, a painting of a lady and a dog moving along shows us the various stages of movement of the principal figures. It represents in various positions the moving paws and tail of the dog, the swing of his chain and the steps of the owner's feet. The multiplicity of paws and tails is supposed to indicate that the dog trots with a wagging tail. A number of chains suggests the whirling of his lead and an army of shoes represents the movement of the owner's feet. This movement was known as Futurism.

It is an accepted fact that never before in the history of European art since the days of Giotto was there such an unrest and revolution in art as in

this period. Every new movement aimed at more assertion of its power and force of expression. The calm and peace that is natural to art was eliminated and in its place violence was substituted. In the words of Sir William Orpen, "Coming events in the world cast their shadows before them on the field of art. All these movements (that never soothe us to rest but galvanise us into action) must be considered as symptoms, as expressions in art of the unrest, agitation and suppressed violence scathing subterraneously in Europe prior to the outbreak of the Great War."

More interesting still is the last premonition of the war given by a curious painting of Wyndham Lewis a few months prior to the War. It was called the "Plan of Campaign" depicting in a style that was a further development of Cubism, the two divisions of contending forces and a big patch towards a corner representing the superior forces of an army crushing the right wing of another.

Effect of the War on Art.

Whatever troubles otherwise the world might have experienced due to the Great War, art received a mighty impetus such as was never known before except once as a result of the French Revolution. It was officially recognized that "picture-making was not a mere idle pastime, but an activity which had its own function and purpose of usefulness to humanity". More than ever they saw how art could be turned to great advantage if the people chose. The idea "art for art's sake" sank beneath the weight of the new realization "art for the idea's sake" and art was recognized as an element of education and social progress, because nothing else in the world could impress an idea so vividly and lastingly on the human memory. Various war artists were officially employed and ever since then more and more encouragement is being given to the growth of art in England. The fact that in London alone there are over thirty schools of art is enough for us to imagine the extent to which art is appreciated and recognized as a necessary element of education in England. As a result of the War, English art became more settled and came back to a modified realism though it is idle yet to speculate over the various phases of modern European art.

Having briefly shown you how during the course of history, Giotto and Niccolo Pisano heralded the Renaissance, how the German artist Albert Durer in his art anticipated the Reformation, how Antoine Watteau in France and Goya in Spain were forerunners of the French Revolution, how the various schools of thought in the last years of the last century in France and England, of Impressionism, Cubism and Futurism gave premonitions of the last Great War, let me, with your permission, proceed to give you a brief idea as to the encouragement these artists generally had and the methods adopted by them for study.

Artists and Material Prosperity.

Unfortunately, however, we have to admit though with extreme grief that in most cases the greatest of artists died in poverty. The example of Michael Angelo, the greatest sculptor of the world who was ever deserted by his employers and died in poverty, is a striking one. Raphael lived well patronized and supported. Titian like him found his life patron in Charles V who made it a regular system to pay a thousand gold crowns for every portrait he painted. Rubens was another who was well encouraged and patronized by Royalty. Apart from a few such examples, the majority of artists in Europe had to struggle for their very living and often died at a premature age as a result of privation and hardship in the earlier years. It has invariably happened that most of these artists whose pictures fetched them not even their bare living were esteemed so highly after their death that fabulous sums were offered for the same pictures which during the lifetime of the artists were not cared for in the least. We have instances of artists who offered their landscapes for one franc in vain without any prospect of purchasers and, were driven to insanity for want of nourishment and died in the lunatic asylum. After their death the same pictures were purchased for hundreds of pounds.

Another feature in common with almost all these artists who have attained great prominence is that invariably they started life faced with the mightiest of obstacles. The parents in most cases disapproved of their tendencies and the young enthusiasts invariably had to break away from the warmth of the paternal home to attain their ambition. Obstacles at every step, want of encouragement, jealousy of contemporaries and betters, all forces that could be employed to crush men of weak mettle, went often to make of them the greatest masters of art in the world.

Methods of Study.

We find generally two currents of artistic progress in art all through the history of European art, moving side by side, sometimes the one and sometimes the other gaining the dominance. These two movements are based on the classical spirit of the Greek and Italian masters of old and the democratic spirit which created more love of local topics of interest. While the former believed that the highest success in art was achieved by old classic masters whose models it was necessary to copy, the latter believed that art based on art led to decadence and if we believed that the old masters attained highest perfection we must do as they did, approach nature direct. In either case the student of art travelled immensely and either learnt from the classic models or from the school of Nature by direct contact with her. The course of training gave wide scope for immense first-hand knowledge and

culture and developed a keenness of observation which in modern art has reached its stage of highest scientific perfection.

Conclusion.

One thing, however, in spite of all the obstacles that these artists had to meet and overcome, we cannot fail to see, that their restless energy which kept them and their spirit alive and above all trifles helped equally in moulding to a remarkable extent the sense of æsthetic appreciation among the public. It is said of Turner that he employed a very interesting method of popularizing landscape painting. He went from village to village and painted various houses and country property for their owners at very cheap prices so that the pride of having their property painted gradually developed into a real taste for landscape painting. After all it may be said, the greater part of the struggle for the recognition of art in Europe is over. It has been recognized definitely by authorities in most countries that art as a medium of education holds the highest place unrivalled. And it is to be hoped that the realization, never too late, of the value and usefulness of the function of art in life, will make the way smoother for future European artists to proceed with their mission. It is to be hoped further that this realization will close for ever that epoch in which the artists were forced to end their lives tragically, and open out a more cheery and bright period for the art of Europe in future.

Friends, I have already mentioned to you how it is not possible for one in my position to do full justice to a subject of this magnitude. With the material available, with all my drawbacks, I have tried to set before you as concisely as my conveniences could afford some of the main points of European art that we have to consider if we were to look in an impartial attitude at the æsthetic development of our country. How some of these developments of art in Europe affected the course of æsthetic progress in India, I shall try to point out to you when I deal with Indian art in the coming lectures.

KALIDASA AND BHASA IN THE LIGHT OF SOME WESTERN CRITICISMS.

BY C. K. VENKATA RAMAYYA, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society)

KĀLIDĀSA, the author of *Çākuntala*, occupies a most prominent place in the literatures of the world. Thus, in the words of Humboldt: "Tenderness in the expression of feeling and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations." Kālidāsa is "a consummate artist, profound in conception and suave in execution, a master of sound and language". It may be said that his fertility of imagination, his richness of creative fancy, his massive intellect, his mastery of language, his supreme culture, and his profound knowledge of the workings of the human heart, have entitled Kālidāsa to occupy the front name among the world poets. "Three of his plays have been preserved, *Çākuntala*, *Vikramorvaçī* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The harmony of the poetic sentiment is nowhere disturbed by anything violent or terrifying. Every passion is softened without being enfeebled. The ardour of love never goes beyond æsthetic bounds; it never maddens to wild jealousy or hate. The torments of sorrow are toned down to a profound and touching melancholy."

Oriental scholars must ever be grateful to Dr. A. B. Keith, for his contributions to the study of Sanskrit literature. His *Sanskrit drama in its origin, development and practice* is worthy of our most careful consideration. Great as Dr. Keith's admiration has been for the works of Kālidāsa and Bhāsa, still some of his views about them cannot be accepted without comment. For, Dr. Keith says:—"Admirable as is Kālidāsa's work, it would be unjust to ignore the fact that in his dramas, as in his epics, he shows no interest in the great problems of life and destiny. The admiration of Goethe and the title of the Shakespeare of India, accorded by Sir William Jones, the first to translate *Çākuntala*, are deserved but must not blind us to the narrow range imposed on Kālidāsa's interest by his unfeigned devotion to the Brahminical creed of his time. Assured as he was, that all was governed by a just fate which man makes for himself by his own deeds, he was incapable of viewing the world as a tragic scene, of feeling and sympathy for the hard lot of the majority of men or of appreciating the reign of injustice in the world. It was impossible for him to go beyond his narrow range; we may be grateful, that confined as he was, he accomplished a work of such enduring merit and universal appeal as *Çākuntala*, which even in the ineffective guise of translations has won general recognition as a masterpiece." It may, perhaps, be

permissible to observe that the works of any author must be criticized applying these principles or similar ones to them ; but the fact remains, that depth of thought and sublimity of spirit would ordinarily ill-accord with absence of sympathy and feeling for the tragic sufferings of mankind. Furthermore, the life around at the time is also a factor to be considered. We cannot judge a Cæsar or an Augustus or a Charlemagne or a Napoleon from the standards of to-day, and even so with the literature of the time or literary criticism.

A dramatist generally takes the social conditions of the period he deals with and imparts life and colour to the story. Kālidāsa, for example, lived in the golden age of India's prosperity, when Brahmarshis and Rajarshis lived to inspire the people with the profound truths of the *Upanishads* and of the all-pervading *Dharma*. "Viewed from without, India, in the time of Kālidāsa, appeared to have reached the zenith of civilization excelling as she did in luxury, literature and the arts." Indian goods were shipped across to Java, Sumatra, Egypt, China and other distant lands. Peace and prosperity reigned in the land ; people were extremely happy. Under the Gupta Emperors, India was considered the richest country in the world. Kālidāsa himself was not living in penury. The environment may not have lent itself for a pessimistic outlook upon the world to consider it a grim tragedy. "The idea of life on earth was not that of a struggle for existence, a struggle for power and domination, for wealth and enjoyment." At no period in Kālidāsa's life, as with Shakespeare, "suddenly all his life seemed to have grown dark. His best friends fell into ruin. Essex perished on the scaffold ; Southampton went to the Tower ; Pembroke was banished from the court ; he may himself, as some have thought, have been concerned in the rising of Essex." These to some extent explain the absence of tragedies amongst Kālidāsa's works, not that tragic element is not to be traced in his plays. In his *Çākuntala*, Kālidāsa has worked out a magical trick in so far as almost the whole action is enveloped in a tragic atmosphere, while the general impression left upon the minds of the spectators when they leave the theatre, is one of great solace and satisfaction. Although there is no distinction between tragedy and comedy in India, the *Hindu* plays are invariably of a mingled web, as Professor Wilson says, and blend "seriousness and sorrow with levity and laughter ; although they propose to excite all the emotions of the human breast—terror and pity included—they never effect this object by leaving a painful impression upon the mind of the spectator." Besides, *Hindu* ideas of propriety forbid the sight of death upon the stage.

Above all, when judged with an unsophisticated mind, the fallacy in the western criticism of Indian plays lies in the fact that absence of tragedy as such, among them, is considered to be a serious defect. Whether

it is really a great defect may be doubted and much might be said on both sides, if it is taken up for discussion. In this connection, it has to be confessed that the Shakespearean tragedies, in spite of their sublimity and splendour, leave a painful impression on the mind and our very life seems to be crushed by the overwhelming gloom and misery. To defend it, the commentators have ingeniously created what is known as poetic justice which is said to differ from moral justice. With regard to Indian plays, however, this contingency does not arise and as such they make ample compensation for the absence of pure tragedies. It is shocking to our moral conscience to maintain poetic justice and to sacrifice the virtuous for the sake of the tragedy. The Indian plays, in which moral justice is ascendant, are more perfect, so far as the microcosm created in them is concerned, and they leave a soothing effect on the mind. While terror and pity may have their place in drama what is to be gained by leaving a painful impression upon the mind of the spectator? Is this not the genesis of a happy ending to *King Lear* as represented by some actors? In lieu of a heart-rending tragedy like *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*, what would we not give for tenderness in the expression of feeling and richness of creative fancy? We have nothing but genuine admiration for Shakespeare, but our appreciation of his plays need not blind us to the fact that improbability and unnaturalness are still to be laid to his charge, when we remember that every one of his tragedies has to be studied with a condition precedent attached to it.

Now a word about the "narrow range imposed on Kālidāsa's interest by his unfeigned devotion to the Brahminical creed of his time". To use the words of a great writer, "Vālmiki, Vyāsa and Kālidāsa are the history of Ancient India, its sole and sufficient history. They are types and exponents of three periods in the development of the human soul, types and exponents also of the three great powers which dispute and clash in the imperfect and half-formed temperament and harmonize in the formed and perfect." Kālidāsa's works are but pictures of his age, 'at once minute and grandiose'. Such being the case, it is inconceivable how Kālidāsa could have fitted himself for the huge task that lay before him. There is no trace of sectarianism, no trace of caste prejudices and no trace of any arrogant sacerdotal superiority in the works of Kālidāsa. His best characters are not Brahmins at all, with the exception of Kāśyapa. But Kāśyapa, a Brahmin by birth, and a *Kulapathi* by profession, is represented as having brought up Çakuntala, a damsel whose birth is of *Kshatriya* origin and whom he loves as if she were his own daughter. If the "narrow range" had been imposed on Kālidāsa, he would never have been able to portray such a fine character as Kāśyapa, in whom the material and the spiritual, the aspects of enjoyment and renunciation,

have been fused with harmony ; the picture of Kāśyapa's love of his foster-child Çakuntala, and of his deep insight and ardent sympathy, has no parallel in the wide range of the world's dramatic poesy. Volumes can be written about the stanza :—

“यास्यत्यह्यशकुन्तलेतिहृदयं संस्पृष्टमुत्कण्ठया
कण्ठस्तम्भितवाष्पवृत्तिकलुषश्चिन्ताजडोदर्शनम् ।
वैक्लव्यममतावदीदृशमिदं स्नेहादरण्यौकसः
पीडयन्तेगृहिणः कथन्नुतनयाविश्लेषदुःखैर्नवैः ॥”

In fact, Brahminism may be said to have shone with its pristine purity in those days. Asvathāma, a Brahmin, addresses his father's charioteer as “आर्य” in *Vēṇisamhāra* of Bhatta Nārāyana, and Bhāsa represents Emperor Dasaratha as addressing his charioteer Sumantra as “प्रातः सुमन्त्र” (*i.e.*, brother Sumantra) while the latter is addressed as “तत” by Rama, Lakshmana and Bharata. The great Sankarāchārya cries forth “चण्डालोस्तु द्विजोस्तु वा मम गुरुर्येषा मनीषामम” [that is, (a person of noble qualities, who has the right knowledge about Brahma) whether he is a *dwiija* or *chandāla* by birth, it is my firm conviction that he is my own *guru* (*i.e.*, preceptor and master).] Bāṇabhatta, a Brahmin, describes in his *kādambari* how a *chandāla* (Pariah) woman enters the Raja's court with a parrot in her hand. Kālidāsa says of Umā :—

“कृताभिषेकां हुतजातवेदसं त्वगुत्तरासंगवतीमधीतिनीम् ।
दिदक्षवस्तां ऋषयोभ्युपागमन्नधर्मवृद्धेषु वयस्समीक्ष्यते ॥”

and represents that even *Munis* (who were Brahmins) of green old age, came to visit Umā, a mere girl of about sixteen summers and of Kshatriya caste ; and the poet also remarks that in those who are mature in righteousness and purity, age is of no importance at all. The author of “*Radde Hindu*” puts the question *Kayku Porjthe Phat'ur Tumar?* that is, why do you worship stones? But ages and ages before, our sage has sung :—

“संदर्शयथशिलां शिलामयगृहे साक्षादयंश्रीपति
भक्तेभ्योविधिवान्प्रयच्छति वरान्संसेव्यमानस्त्विति ।
उक्तादेवलकस्यवाचमधिकं विश्वस्य संसेवते
श्रेतेरहो तत्त्वमसीति वाक्यं नविश्वस्यद्भुतमेतदेव ॥”

Throughout the wide range of Sanskrit literature, the superb principle of unity in diversity and of the omnipresence of the one Supreme Being is recognized and reiterated. It is rightly said of Kālidāsa that his “pre-eminence as a world poet consists in voicing forth in sweet chaste strains that highest culture which is nothing but a recognition of this grand and sublime truth”.

It is somewhat disappointing to observe that most of the Western critics, when dealing with the Indian drama and Indian art, do not exhibit the same skill as they do in dealing with the western plays and western art. While discussing Bhāsa's art and technique, Dr. Keith says: "Thus even in the last Act of the latter drama (*Swapnavāsavadatta*) which in many respects is effective, the stage directions assume that the queen appears with Vāsavadattā as her attendant, but that the king either does not see or does not recognize the latter, both obviously very improbable suggestions, possibly it is assumed that the presence of Vāsavadattā, though obvious to the audience is concealed from the king in some manner by the use of the curtain but this is left to be imagined" and he also opines that "the working of the plot is certainly open to criticism on this score". Before defending our position, let us concede this to be true for the sake of argument. In Bhāsa's play there is at least an assumption—as the Doctor says—that the presence of Vāsavadattā is concealed from the king. But do we not find in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* that both Bassanio and Gratiano fail to recognize their wives, (in the court scene) even after having spoken to them? Dr. Keith seems to have taken the word "यवनिका" which the king mentions when he says "भवतुपश्यामस्तावद्रूपसादृश्यम् । सङ्क्षिप्यतां यवनिका" to mean a curtain and concludes that a transverse curtain is thereby meant. It is not, perhaps, the curtain that is indicated by the word "यवनिका" here, but it may be the veil that she wears; and the king wishes that the veil should be taken off so that he may make sure whether it is Vāsavadattā or not, especially in view of the fact, that Yougandharāyana cries forth it is his sister Avantikā and not Vāsavadattā that is before them. Professor H. B. Bhide also opines that by "यवनिका" the veil is meant. It is also interesting to note that women wore veils in those days. In this connection, it may be mentioned that Seeta (in *Pratimānātaka*) is represented as having put on a veil. Rama asks her to take off the veil when he says "अपनीयतामवगुण्ठनम्" so that people may have a look at her face. The stage direction "अवगुण्ठनमपनयन्ति" in *Pratimānātaka* indicates that the three queens, Kausalya, Sumitra and Kaikeyi wore veils. But it may be asked whether it is not highly improbable that the king does not recognize Vāsavadattā, while घात्री does so, in spite of the fact, that the former wears the veil. घात्री very closely observes her by her searching look, which is indicated by the stage direction "अवन्तिकानिर्वर्ण्य" whereas the king does not do so, as according to Indian etiquette, a man should not stare at a woman, who is not acquainted with him. The psychological state of his mind too is partly responsible for his failure to recognize Vāsavadattā; he believes that Vāsavadattā is dead and as such,

there is no occasion to be guided by external resemblances, especially when the face is veiled and when she stands at a distance.

Dr. A. A. Macdonell gives a better estimate of Indian drama, as a whole, when he says, "While the Indian drama shows some affinities with Greek comedy, it affords more striking points of resemblance to the productions of the Elizabethan play-wrights, and in particular, of Shakespeare. The aim of the Indian dramatists is not to portray types of character but individual persons; nor do they observe the rule of unity of time or place. They are given to introducing romantic and fabulous elements; they mix prose with verse; they blend the comic with the serious, and introduce puns and comic distortions of words. The character of the Vidūshaka, too, is a close parallel to the fool in Shakespeare. Common to both are also several contrivances intended to further the action of the drama, such as the writing of letters, the introduction of a play within a play, the restoration of the dead to life and the use of intoxication on the stage as a humourous device. Such a series of coincidences, in a case where influence or borrowing is absolutely out of the question, is an instructive instance of how similar developments can arise independently." Of *Çākuntala*, Augustus Schlegel says that it presents "through its oriental brilliancy of colouring so striking a resemblance... to our romantic drama that it might be suspected that the love of Shakespeare had influenced the translator, were it not that other orientalists bore testimony to his fidelity." (*Vide* Preface to *Çākuntala*, edited by Sir Monier Williams.)

While dealing with Bhāsa's art and technique, Dr. Keith says "In the Rama dramas only, is there lacking any sign of his ability; *Abhishēkanātaka* is a somewhat dreary summary of the corresponding books (IV—VI) of the *Rāmāyana*, nor is *Pratimānātaka* substantially superior." There may be some justification for the view that "In the Rama dramas only, is there lacking any sign of his ability," so far as this refers to *Abhishēkanātaka*, which is, perhaps, the earliest work of Bhāsa; but as regards *Pratimānātaka*, which is one of the best of Bhāsa's plays, it cannot be justified. Dr. Keith considers that *Pratimānātaka* too is a dreary summary of the corresponding books of Vālmiki, that the variations are few and unimportant and that it is not substantially superior. True it is that Bhāsa has borrowed the main incidents from Vālmiki, but he has transformed them into an artistic whole introducing great many variations in the plot as well as in characterization. Bhāsa is a dramatist of a very high rank.

The very name *Pratimānātaka* demarcates the variation. In Vālmiki, the way in which Bharata becomes aware of his father's death is too bald to require any mention about it. In Bhāsa, this is most artistically managed. There is a statue house wherein are kept the statues of the departed kings of

the solar race. Dasaratha is dead and his statue (प्रतिमा) is also kept there. Bharata is staying with his maternal uncle, and he is to be brought to Ayodhya to assume the reins of government, since Rama and Lakshmana are in exile. A chariot is sent to bring him to Ayodhya; he is not informed of the actual state of affairs and he is only told that his father is slightly ill. Bharata is very anxious to see his father and he dreams of the warm reception and affectionate greeting that await him in Ayodhya.

What a Sophoclean irony is painted in the stanza :—

“पतितमिव शिरः पितुःपादयोः स्निह्येतवास्मिराज्ञासमुत्थापितः
 त्वरितमुपगताइव भ्रातरः क्लेदयन्तीव मामश्रुभिर्मतरः ।
 सदृशइति महानिति व्यायतञ्चेति मृत्यैरिवाहं स्तुतः सेवया
 परिहासितामिवात्मनस्तत्र पश्यामि वेषं च भाषां च सौमित्रिणा ॥”

The *Muhūrtam* set for the entry of Bharata to the capital has not arrived as yet and Bharata has to stay for some time in the grove near the statue house. Casually he enters the statue house and is startled to see his father's statue there, and vague suspicions begin to creep over his mind. He asks the watchman whether the statues of living persons are kept there, to which the latter replies in the negative. He realizes the truth and cries “हातात” and bemoans his fate. There is not a syllable of all this in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*. Further on, he learns that Rama was sent to the forest at the instance of his own mother and feels miserable on that account.

Again, the very first scene in Bhāsa's *Pratimānātaka* is a marvellous departure from the incidents narrated by Vālmīki, which shows that Bhāsa is a dramatist of a very high order. The incidents narrated are the poet's own: a creation of his own fertile imagination and admirably depicted. Avadātika has stolen a *Valkala* from the palace stage to play a trick on the maid-servant Āryarevā, who refused to give her the leaves of *Asōka* which had already been used up for the stage purposes. Seeta extracts the whole story from her, admonishes her that it is a sin to steal anything even for the sake of fun, and advises her to return the *Valkala* at once. Avadātika is ready to go when a thought comes over Seeta how she would look if she should wear the *Valkala*; she wears it, and asks how she appears in her new dress. Of course, she is told that it adorns her and that the *Valkala* appears on her body, as if it were made of gold. She gets a mirror to see her image in it with the *Valkala* on her body. This creates a doleful atmosphere which adds to the dramatic importance of these incidents. It is the day on which Rama is to be invested with regal powers, and it sounds grim and mysterious, that Seeta should wear the *Valkala* unconsciously. In fact, it is a grim irony of fate that causes her to do so, and it portends that something

unusual is going to happen. The *Valkala* incident in the first scene of *Pratimānātaka* shows us that Seeta wears the *Valkala*, which properly belongs to *Rishies* and hermits, who dwell in forests and follow an austere course of life, and as such, a vague and mysterious feeling steals over us, hinting that the *Abhishēka* of Rama may not take place at all. Thus, the effect of the future action is suggested at the very commencement of the play. When informed that Rama will be entrusted with the kingly office, Seeta remarks “अवितादो कुशली” (i.e., अपि तातः कुशली) and this still further increases the pathetic nature of the whole scene. Later on, we see that Rama has to go to the forest and live in exile for fourteen years, and Seeta and Lakshmana are ready to follow him. Rama has to wear a *Valkala* and at the exact moment a maid-servant brings a new *Valkala* which has been sent by Āryarevā (on hearing Seeta’s wearing the *Valkala*) with the information that a *Valkala*, which is new and not worn by anybody, has been sent. Rama takes the *Valkala* and wears it. In the *Rāmāyana*, it is Kaikeyi that gives them the *Valkals*.

Again, while depicting Dasaratha’s sorrow in the second Act, Bhāsa exhibits remarkable dramatic talent. No doubt the main idea is taken from the *Rāmāyana* but the whole scene is wrought with the most artistic touches, making the whole action superb, the soul-stirring pathos reaching its utmost dimensions. If there is anything in all literature that can be compared with that scene, it is the scene in *King Lear*, in which Lear says “Do not laugh at me”, etc. Dasaratha is overpowered with sorrow and is half mad already; his senses are failing; he sees one and all around him, but he cannot fully recognize anyone. This reminds us of poor Isabella in Keats, who forgot the sun and the moon in her bereavement. Dasaratha sees Kausalyā and asks her, who are you please? (कत्वं भोः ?) On her informing him that she was Kausalyā, he asks “किं किं सर्वजनहृदयनयनाभिरामस्य रामस्य जननी त्वमसि कौसल्या?” (what, what, are you that Kausalyā, who is the mother of Rama, endeared to one and all?) Further on, he sees Sumitrā and asks Kausalyā, “इयमपरा का?” (who is this other one?) to which Kausalyā replies महाराज! वच्छलक्खण...” and is attempting to say that she is the mother of Lakshmana. But before she can complete the sentence, the very moment she pronounces the word Lakshmana, Dasaratha gets up with excitement and asks “क्वासौ क्वासौ लक्ष्मणः ! नदश्यते । भोः कष्टम् ” (where is he, where is he, where is Lakshmana? I do not see him, O, it is intolerable!) and Kausalyā informs him what she intended to say. Sumantra’s arrival is soon announced and the king asks “अपि रामेण?” (i.e., Has he come with Rama?) After he is informed that Sumantra has returned with the empty chariot, he bemoans his lot and says :

“शून्यः प्राप्तो यदि रथो भग्नो मम मनोरथः ।

नूनं दशरथं नेतुं कालेन प्रेषितो रथः ॥”

[If the chariot has arrived empty, my hope is shattered and it is the chariot sent by Yama to carry Dasaratha (to the other world).] How pathetic it is! After Sumantra comes to the royal presence, the king asks whether his children have sent any message to their father, whose death is fast approaching. Sumantra says “महाराजा ! मामैवमङ्गलवचनानिमाषिष्ठाः । अचिरादेवतान्द्रक्ष्यसि *i.e.*, (Oh king ! such inauspicious words ought not to be spoken by you. You will be seeing them ere long). To which Dasaratha gives a very pathetic reply, “सत्यमुक्तमभिहितंमया । नायं तपास्विनामुचितः प्रश्नः । तत् कथ्यताम् । अपि तपास्विनां तपो वर्धते...”etc. which means:—Yes, truly; what I asked was improper. It is not a fit question to be put about those who have adopted an austere life of penance. Tell me then, are their austerities and penance increasing day by day? Then comes the most pathetic portion of the Act, when Dasaratha proposes to hear their names before being informed of what they said. Sumantra replies “आयुष्मान् रामः ।” when Dasaratha says, “रामइति । अयंरामः । तन्नामश्रवणात् स्पृष्ट्व मे प्रतिभासः । ततस्ततः ।” (Did you say ‘Rama’! This is Rama. As I hear his name, I feel he is touching me. What then?) Sumantra repeats the name of Lakshmana and Dasaratha says “अयंलक्ष्मणः । ततस्ततः ।” (This is Lakshmana, what then?) and Sumantra mentions the name of Seeta. Dasaratha replies “इयंवैदेही । रामोलक्ष्मणोवैदेहीत्ययमक्रमः ।” (This is Seeta; it is not the due order to say Rama, Lakshmana and Seeta) and Sumantra asks अथ कः क्रमः । (which is then, the due order)? Dasaratha replies:—

“रामोवैदेही लक्ष्मण इत्यभिधीयताम् ।

रामलक्ष्मणयोर्मध्ये तिष्ठत्वत्रापिमैथिली ।

बहुदोषाण्यरण्यानि सनाथैषा भविष्यति ॥”

Sumantra mentions their names once again, in the new order suggested by Dasaratha. As their names are mentioned a vision is conjured up before his shattered mind, and he feels as if the trio were before him. His reply is most pathetic indeed !

“अयंलक्ष्मणः । राम । वैदेहि । लक्ष्मण । परिष्वजध्वं मां पुत्रकाः । . . . ”

(This is Lakshmana! Rama, Seeta and Lakshmana. Hug me hard, you, my dear children !)

In the second Act of the drama almost every line radiates Bhāsa's originality of composition and bears testimony to the dramatic genius of Bhāsa. Towards the end of the Act, Dasaratha's mental condition reaches a stage beyond redemption, and he begins to see his ancestors, who have come to console him and says:—

“अये रामकथाश्रवण सन्दग्धहृदयं मामाश्वासयितुमागताः पितरः”

This is evidently a hallucination which is exactly similar in kind to that of a dagger seen by Macbeth, though the causes for it are of different origin. Dasaratha performs āchamanam as a sort of purification probably, and looks up and says :—

“अयममरपतेः सखादिलीपो
रघुरयमत्र भवानजःपिता मे ।
किमभिगमनकारणं भवद्भिः
सहवसने समयो ममापि तत्र ॥”

(Here is Dileepa, friend of Indra; here is Raghu and here is my revered father Aja. How is it that you have all come? Time is also come that I should live with you all) and in the same breath he cries forth :—

“राम ! वैदेहि ! लक्ष्मण ! अहमितः पितॄणां सकाशं गच्छामि । हे पितरः । अयमयमागच्छामि ॥”
and swoons. These characteristic features of the second Act enable us to compare it, on account of its dramatic effect and pathos, with the best scenes in Shakespeare, and especially the scene where King Lear says :—

“ Do not laugh at me,

For as I am a man

I think this lady to be my child Cordelia.”

Then follows the third Act which mainly deals with Bharata's visit to the statue house (*Pratimāgriha*) and every line reverberates with Bhāsa's creative genius independent of the original. Throughout the whole play, Bhāsa has introduced remarkable changes in details even where he has borrowed the main incidents from *Rāmāyana*.

No doubt Seeta's abduction is common to both the *Rāmāyana* and the *Pratimānatuka*, but a very skilful and artistic change is wrought in the latter as regards the circumstances under which Seeta is abducted. In *Rāmāyana* Ravana asks Maricha, his maternal uncle, to assume the shape of a golden deer and to move about Rama's hermitage. Seeta is attracted by its beauty and requests Rama to catch and bring it. Rama asks Lakshmana to keep watch in the Āshrama and runs after the deer, which leads him to the heart of the forest, till at last Maricha (*i.e.*, the deer) falls a victim to Rama's arrow crying “Oh ! Lakshmana, Oh ! Seeta”. Seeta hears the cry and thinks that Rama's life is in danger and asks Lakshmana to go to the rescue of his brother. Lakshmana informs her that there can be no danger to Rama's life, and refuses to leave the Āshrama which is against Rama's instructions. Seeta attributes motives to his refusal to leave the Āshrama, and very severely expostulates with him, whereupon he goes away in search of Rama. Ravana, who has been waiting for this opportunity, enters the hermitage and

carries Seeta away. The account given in Bhāsa is quite different. The Act, pertaining to the abduction of Seeta, opens with Seeta cleansing and decorating the Āshrama. It is the day on which Dasaratha's Shrāddha is to be performed; Rama has sent Lakshmana on an errand, and he too is away on some work. Seeta cleanses and decorates the Āshrama and waters the plants when Rama returns to the Āshrama. She has just watered a few plants and has gone to fetch another pot of water. He bemoans the hard lot of Seeta who is undergoing great many difficulties in their forest life. Then he feels for their inability to perform the *Shrāddha* ceremony in a befitting manner; and Seeta consoles him saying that it may be performed to the best of their circumstances as Bharata does it on a luxurious scale. The lines (spoken by Rama):—

फलानि दृष्ट्वा दर्भेषु खहस्तरचितानिवः ।

स्मारितो वनवासं च तातस्तत्रापि रोदिति ॥”

are very pathetic indeed. Just then, Rāvaṇa enters the Āshrama in a Sanyasi's garb and informs that he is a guest. Rama and Seeta welcome him and entertain him addressing him as “*Bhagavan*,” in keeping with the spirit of the Hindu ideals. Casually Rama enquires how best they may perform the *Shrāddha* ceremony in their present condition and Rāvaṇa, who has already informed them, that he is a learned and pious Brahmin, informs them what select things may be used and finally tells them that it is very desirable that “*Kāñchanaparshva*” fawn should be offered. Rama starts in quest of the fawn asking Seeta to honour and entertain the guest till his return. But, Rāvaṇa does eventually carry away Seeta. How artistically has Bhāsa introduced this change! Rāvaṇa abducts Seeta forgetting how reverently and how sincerely Rama and Seeta had entertained him. Rāvaṇa is ingratitude incarnate in Bhāsa, and his act is more heinous in the *Pratimānātaka* than in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*.

Then again Bharata's obtaining the news of Seeta's abduction and Rama's coronation in the hermitage owe their origin to Bhāsa's creation. These are very significant and artistic indeed. “The first is intended to heighten the effects of pathos and the second is intended for gladdening the acquaintances made by Sree Rama in the hermitage” as Dr. T. Ganapathi Sastry puts it. Rama's coronation may mean much more. It is in a way the symbolic representation of an admixture of the two aspects of “enjoyment” and “renunciation” which are about to characterize the benign rule of Rama and it is also intended as a sort of harmony between the hermit's life on the one hand, and the life of the householder on the other.

Another feature which marks out Bhāsa's *Pratimānātaka* as one of the greatest dramas relates to the extraordinary skill with which the characters

are portrayed in it. Bhāsa's characters are all human and they use very appropriate language, holding the minds of the audience spell-bound. There is no artificiality about them, and they are so real that if we prick them they seem to bleed. The beauty of the drama is still more enhanced on account of what is called the Shakespearean element of the unity of action, which characterizes the whole play. Bhāsa has worked out marvellous changes in the characters as found in Vālmiki. There are the same characters no doubt, but there is a marked difference between the characterization in the *Rāmāyana* and that in the *Pratimānātaka*. Dr. Keith does not seem to observe this aspect of the question, but seems to think that the characters remain stereotyped and dull. The greatness that can be claimed for the *Pratimānātaka* is based on the skill shown in his delineation of most of the characters, changing their very nature to suit the idealistic atmosphere that pervades over the whole play. But unfortunately, there is no time to do full justice to this aspect of the question.

Vālmiki himself has drawn the portrait of an ideal and noble hero in Rama, and as a natural sequence of this, Rama commands to this day the utmost reverence and devotion from all Hindus without any distinction of caste or creed. The character of Rama is more dignified in Bhāsa's *Pratimānātaka* than in Vālmiki. He feels that he is one with his brothers, and there is not a shadow of any difference between them. When the *Abhishēka* does not take place and he has to go to the forest to live there for fourteen years, he is not in the least moved, and it is a pleasure to him that the *Abhishēka* does not take place.

Further on, Rama's conversation with the chamberlain bears ample testimony to his nobility of character, and his genuine and affectionate feelings. He is unmoved when the latter tells him that his step-mother Kaikeyi was instrumental in putting a stop to the *Abhishēka* ceremony and replies: "आर्य! गुणाः खल्वत्र (It is all for the good that it happened like this.) This attitude is inexplicable to the mind of the chamberlain, and he asks the reason therefor, when Rama replies:

“वनगमननिवृत्तिः पार्थिवस्यैव ताव
 नमसपितृपरवत्ता बालभावस्स एव ।
 नवदृष्टिर्विमर्शनास्तिशङ्का प्रजाना
 मथच नपरिभोगैर्वञ्चिता भ्रातरो मे ॥

Rama's feeling that he would have shut out his brothers from accession to the throne, if he had accepted the crown at the instance of Dasaratha, and that too in spite of his being the eldest son of the latter, looks something superhuman. The chamberlain thereupon informs him that Kaikeyi came

uninvited and asked of Dasaratha that Bharata should be crowned king of Ayodhya and puts the question "Is this not greed?" to which Rama replies:—

“आर्य ! भवान्खल्वस्मत्पक्षपातादेव नार्थमपेक्षते । कुतः
शुल्के विपणितं राज्यं पुत्रार्थे यदि याच्यते ।
तस्यालोभोऽत्र नास्माकं भ्रातृराज्यापहरिणाम् ॥”

What a noble and refined conception this is!

Rāma's attitude in Vālmīki is quite different from what it is in Bhāsa. He goes to Seeta after Kaikeyi has informed him of his father's promise to her and of the necessity for his going to exile. He is overpowered with sorrow, and there is not much of self-control in him. The poet informs us that

“अथर्षितासमुत्पत्य वेपमानाच तं पतिम्
अपश्यच्छोकसंतप्तं चिन्ताव्याकुलितेन्द्रियम् ।
तां दृष्ट्वा सहि धर्मात्मा नशशाक मनोगतम्
तं शोकं राघवः सोढुं ततो विवृततां गतः ॥”

In the *Rāmāyana*, Rama is even displeased with his father. He thinks that Dasaratha has done an unjust act in asking him to go to the forest on exile, and criticizes his father severely and says to Lakshmana:—

“गुरुश्च राजाच पिताच वृद्धः क्रोधात्प्रहर्षादथवापिकामात् ।
यद्वयादिशेत् कार्यमेवेक्ष्य धर्मं कस्तं नकुर्यादनृशं सवृत्तिः ॥”

whereas Bhāsa's Rama declares “.....जनो धैर्येण मे विस्मितः स्वः पुत्रः कुरुते पितुर्यदि वचः कस्तत्र भो ! विस्मयः ॥” (People are wondering at my fortitude and self-control. Where is any room for wonder if a son should obey his father ?)

In Vālmiki, Rama's words—

“ममप्रव्रजनादद्य कृतकृत्या नृपात्मजा ।
सुतं भरतमव्यग्रं मभिषेचयतां ततः ॥”

ring with bitter sarcasm against Kaikeyi. Later on, Rama blames the Fate which he holds to be instrumental in bringing about such an undesirable happening. Bhāsa's Rama is too noble and dignified to think in this strain, and we admire him when he enjoins on the chamberlain, who is trying to cast the whole blame on Kaikeyi, “अतः परं न मातुः परिवादं श्रोतुमिच्छामि” (I do not wish to hear my mother blamed any longer.) In Bhāsa, Rama feels no difference whether Bharata or himself should become the king, and he says to Lakshmana, who is very angry at his father's conduct:—

भरतोवाभवेद्राजा वयं वा ननु तत्समम् ।
यदितेऽस्ति धनुःश्लाघा स राजा परिपाल्यताम् ॥

[Is it not all the same whether Bharata becomes king or I become king. If you are dexterous in archery, let that king (*viz.*, Bharata) be protected (against his enemies).] Not only does he regard his step-mother with the utmost respect and affection, but he even thinks that she has not done anything ill, in depriving him of the august position of sovereignty and says to Lakshmana, who accuses him of cowardice, unmindful that his patience is that of strength and not born of weakness :—

“ताते धनुर्ममयि सत्यमवीक्ष्यमाणे
मुञ्चानिमातरिशरं स्वधनं हरन्त्याम् ।
दोषेषु बाह्यमनुजं भरतं ह्वानि
किं रोषणाय रुचिरं त्रिषु पातकेषु ॥

The idea that Kaikeyi has but taken her own property is quite foreign to Vālmīki's Rama.

In the *Rāmāyana*, Rama sends a message to Kausalyā from the forest defining her duties towards her husband, her co-wives and Bharata.

“धर्मनित्या यथाकाल मग्न्यागारपराभव
देविदेवस्य पादौ च देववत्परिपालय ।
अभिमानं च मानं च त्यक्त्वा वर्तस्व मातृषु
अनुराजानमार्यां च कैकेयीमम्बकारय ।
कुमारेभरते वृत्तिर्वर्तितव्या च राजवत्
अर्थज्येष्ठाहिराजानो राजधर्ममनुस्मर ॥”

However well meant all this may be, it may be unhesitatingly said that this is not in good taste. In Bhāsa, Rama does not send any message at all. Sumantra informs Dasaratha when he inquires whether any message has been sent, that Rama and Lakshmana tried to say something but went away with tears in their eyes without sending any message. This silence is very significant and adds to the beauty of the play, especially to the nobility of Rama's character. At any rate, his silence and tears are more effective and more pregnant with meaning than speech under the circumstances depicted in the play.

In Vālmīki, we see that Seeta has the tigress in her which finds expression on two occasions. When Rama is to go to the forest on exile, she proposes to follow him. Rama does not readily give his consent to this and Seeta expostulates with him saying—

किं त्वामन्यत वैदेहः पिता मे मिथिलाधिपः ।
रामजामातरं प्राप्य स्त्रियं पुरुषविग्रहम् ॥”

(How did my father Vaideha, the King of Mithila, approve of you, Rama, when he received you as his son-in-law who is but a woman in essence, though a man in outward appearance ?) and

“स्वयंतुभार्याकौमारीं चिरमधुषितां सतीम् ।
शैलषड्व मां राम परेभ्यो दातुमिच्छति ॥”

[Rama, like a Sailusha, (one who belongs to the dancing class) wants to assign me, his wife and a youthful lady, who has lived with him faithfully for a long time, to others.]

When Rama has to run after the golden deer (*i.e.*, Mārīcha) he asks Lakshmana to keep watch in the Āshrama and never to leave it. But when the cry “O Lakshmana, O Seeta” is heard, as has been stated already, Seeta concludes that Rama has come to grief, and asks Lakshmana to go to his rescue. Lakshmana refuses to do so and extols Rama’s courage and heroism, assuring her that there is no cause for anxiety. Seeta grows wild and rebukes him very severely, and attributes to him the worst possible motives. Thus, she says :

“अनार्यं कर्णारम्भं नृशंसं कुलपांसन ॥

.....

अहं तव प्रियमन्ये रामस्य व्यसनमहत् ।

.....

नैवचित्रं सपत्नेषु पापं लक्ष्मण यद्धवेत् ।

त्वद्विधेषु नृशंसेषु नित्यं प्रच्छन्नचारिषु ॥

सुदुष्टत्वं वने राममेकमेकोनुगच्छसि ।

ममहेतोःप्रतिच्छन्नः प्रयुक्तो भरतेन वा ॥

.....

कथमिन्दीवरश्यामं रामं पद्मनिभेक्षणम् ॥

उपसंश्रित्य भर्तारं कामयेयं पृथग्जनम् ।

समक्षं तव सौमित्रे प्राणांस्त्यक्ष्याम्यसंशयम् ॥”

But for this one blemish, Vālmīki’s Seeta is an ideal character in all other respects, and she will reign supreme in Sanskrit literature for all ages to come.

In Bhāsa, Seeta is free from this blemish even. No doubt the dramatist gets over the pitfall by introducing skilfully wrought deviations into the plot, but still there is ample evidence in the play to show us instances of Seeta’s genuine affection towards Lakshmana and Bharata. Her respect and love to her lord are too genuine to be disturbed by any external cause whatsoever. She has a motherly affection towards Lakshmana and Bharata. We see her whole heart is with Rama, and she feels as if her whole self were merged with that of Rama. In fact, she is the finest of the heroines created by Bhāsa.

Another important feature of the *Pratimānātaka* is that the character of Kausalyā is rendered nobler and more dignified than in Vālmīki’s *Rāmāyana*.

In the latter, Kausalyā begins to rebuke Dasaratha in the most violent language imaginable for his having sent Rama to the forest :—

गतिरेका पतिर्नार्या द्वितीयागतिरात्मजः ।

तृतीयाज्ञातयोराजं श्वतुर्थी नैव विद्यते ॥

तत्र त्वं मम नैवासि रामश्च वनमाहितः ।

न वनं गन्तुमिच्छामि सर्वथा हाहता त्वया ॥

Though she blames him ever so much, one redeeming feature in her character is that after Dasaratha takes her feet in his hands and begs her not to grow wild with him, she regains her equanimity at once, feels remorse, and asks his forgiveness. In Bhāsa's *Pratimānātaka*, Kausalyā rises to ethereal heights through her readily forgiving nature. She tries to be a prop to Dasaratha, in spite of her own crushing sorrow ; she sincerely tries to console him.

In Vālmīki, Kausalyā is wild with Bharata and says :—

इदं ते राज्यकामस्य राज्यं प्राप्तमकृष्टकम् ।

संप्राप्तं बत कैकेय्या शीघ्रं क्रूरेण कर्मणा ॥”

[This kingdom free from hostile elements has come to you, who desires to have a kingdom, and alas, it has readily come to you through the ruthless act of Kaikeyi.]

Bhāsa's Kausalyā is too noble to adopt such a conduct and when Bharata bows to her and says :—

“अम्ब ! अनपराद्धोऽहमभिवादये”

Kausalyā replies with motherly affection,

“जाद ! णिस्सन्दवोहोहि ।”

which Bharata admires ; and he says to himself—

“आकृष्ट इवास्म्यनेन”

In this very scene, when Bharata uses undignified language about his mother for having been instrumental for Rama's exile, Kausalyā with a pure and affectionate heart and without any trace of anger or avenging spirit in her advises Bharata to treat Kaikeyī with respect. Such a conduct would be quite alien to the nature of Vālmīki's Kausalyā.

Even Kaikeyī is far nobler in Bhāsa than in Vālmīki. In the *Rāmāyana* she deliberately asks of Dasaratha that Rama should be sent to the forest where he should live in exile for fourteen years and that Bharata should be the king of Ayōdhya in Rama's absence. In Bhāsa, Kaikeyī is more affectionate towards Rama, and what she intended to ask of Dasaratha was that her son should be allowed to rule for fourteen days ; and this desire is but natural to a mother, when she sees that her step-son Rama is about to be crowned as the king of Kosala. But unfortunately, as the effect of a

curse which is hanging on Dasaratha's head, the words "fourteen years" escape her mouth instead of the words "fourteen days," which is an irony of fate indeed. But still, she repents for her folly, and she eagerly awaits the time when Rama should assume the reins of sovereignty which is indicated by her words :

“जाद ! चिराहिसिदोखुएसोमणोरहो ।”

[Darling son ! this desire is a long cherished one.] We also see that it is not a mere lip-courtesy but it is a fulsome outpouring of a heart crushed with remorse and containing genuine affection towards Rama. For, she rejoices as she hears the “*Vijaya Ghosha*” (i.e., cheers) on Rama's coronation and she is immensely pleased to see that Rama is addressed as “*Maharaja*” by the chamberlain ; after the coronation in the *Āshrama* she also says with motherly affection—

“धृणा खुद्दि । इदं अबुदअं अओज्झाअं पेक्खिदुं इच्छामि ॥”

by which she means that she wants the Abhishēka ceremony to take once again in Ayodhya, with due pomp, befitting the happy occasion. These traits of her character endear Kaikeyi to us, and there is no comparison between this noble soul in Bhāsa, and the virago in Vālmiki. In the *Rāmāyana*, it is a pleasure to Kaikeyi to present *Valkalas* to Rama and Lakshmana without in the least feeling for their going to the forest. She even wants Seeta to wear them, but Vasishtha intervenes and prevents it severely rebuking her. In Bhāsa, there is not a trace of such cruel trait in Kaikeyi and the dramatist with his inborn genius and skill gets over this difficulty ; and he introduces a very artistic change from the original, and makes Seeta wear *Valkala* before she knows that she will have to go to the forest.

Bharata's character which is noble in Vālmiki is rendered nobler in Bhāsa's *Pratimānātaka*. Bharata in Bhāsa is, on the whole, more cultured than in Vālmiki. Lakshmana in Bhāsa bears anger like the flint bears fire. No doubt he is angry at first, but later on we see he is quite calm and has regained his balance of mind, so much so, he never sends any angry message as Vālmiki's Lakshmana does ; nor has he any rash and unjustifiable suspicion against Bharata when the latter goes to visit Rama in the *Ashrama*. Of course, this is all due to the skilful variations the dramatist has introduced in the play. Rāvaṇa in Bhāsa is an ungrateful wretch, and as such, his action becomes more heinous and wicked than it does in the *Rāmāyana*, where there is no reason why he should be grateful to Rama.

But it is my earnest prayer that none of the statements made above is to be taken as if it were meant to disparage Vālmiki, whose work is the time-honoured giant banyan tree of India. Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana* is “the grandest

and the most paradoxical poem in the world which becomes unmatchably sublime by disdaining all consistent pursuit of sublimity, supremely artistic by putting aside all the conventional limitations of art, magnificently dramatic by disregarding all dramatic illusion, and uniquely epic by handling the least as well as the most epic material." In fact, Vālmiki, "the father of our secular poetry, stands for that early and finely moral civilization, which was the true heroic age of the Hindu spirit."

In conclusion, I may say that Bhāsa has introduced the most skilful variations—in most of his plays—both as regards the plot and characterization as immortal Shakespeare has done in his plays. Like Shakespeare, he has followed the unity of swift dramatic action: and he has artistically developed the organic plots of his plays, which bear the stamp of his creative genius. These characteristic features of Bhāsa's plays mark out their gifted author as one of the greatest dramatists of India, if not of the world. Unrivalled and supreme too stands Kālidāsa among the Indian playwrights. He is admittedly one of the greatest dramatists that the world has ever produced, and as such, nothing need be said about the particular place to be assigned to him by their side.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS No. XI—ON AN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE INDIAN HOUSE-CROW.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE Indian House-Crow (*Corvus splendens*—Vieill) is a very familiar bird of the countryside. It is found throughout India and ascends the Himalayas to altitudes of about 4,000 feet. It also occurs in Burma and Siam.

It is called *Kāk* or *Pāt-Kāk* in Bengali. Whereas in Hindi it is called the *Kowā*.

The coloration of this bird varies a good deal in different specimens :— In some birds, the black portions of the plumage emit purple-blue reflexions; while in some specimens these are wanting. In some examples, the ashy—grey colour of the neck is much lighter than in others. While the coloration of the legs and bill varies a good deal in different birds.

Albinoid forms of this bird, which are known in popular language as “white crows”, are commonly met with. One specimen of the “white crow” lived in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens from 1883, till later than 1893.

The breeding season of the Indian house-crow commences from February or March and lasts till July. They build thin nests with sticks and line the same with grass, straw, jute and other soft materials. One nest was found in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, which had been lined with feathers of the Emm. (*Dromdeus novde-hollandde*). In this case, the feathers were actually pecked by the building crow from off the back of the Emm.

While taking my meal in the forenoon, I have often seen that the pet cat of the house comes near to the bell-metal platter on which my meal has been served, for the purpose of feeding upon the fish-bones and other offal of fish which I had thrown off. While the cat is feeding upon this offal, an impertinent crow comes and pecks upon the cat's tail. Whereupon the cat turns round and shows fight at which the saucy crow flies off and sometimes returns to renew his attack upon his feline enemy. This antagonism between the Indian house-crow and the domestic cat is accounted for by the undermentioned ætiological myth which is stated to be current in several parts of the province of Bihar :—

In the olden times, the cat was a *Rānī*, a queen. While the Indian house-crows need to earn their livelihood by carrying on the profession of palki-bearers.

The *Rānī* once hired the palki belonging to the crows (who were, most likely, human beings at that time) and went to a certain place. But she did not pay the palki-hire due to the bearers. For some reason or other (which is not stated by the primitive myth-maker who has invented this myth), the

Rāṇi was metamorphosed into a cat, while the palki-bearers were transformed into Indian house-crows. Since then, considerable enmity has existed between the cat and the Indian house-crow about the non-payment of the palki-hire. It is for this reason that, whenever the Indian house-crow sees a cat, the former pulls or pecks at the latter's tail and duns the latter to the payment of the overdue palki-hire.

[If any reader of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* of Bangalore is acquainted with any analogue of the preceding ætiological myth, which may be current in any other part of India, he will greatly oblige the writer of this article by communicating the same to the aforementioned *Journal*.]

It will not be out of place to mention here that, in folklore, the Indian house-crow is represented as having plied the vocation of boatmen in very olden times, as will appear from the undermentioned specimen of a Bengali nursery-rhyme, which is entitled : *The Crow's Boat* काँकर नौका :—

- १ खोकन खोकन करे माय ?
- २ खोकन गेल काँदर नाय ?
- ३ सातढा काँके दाँड बाय
- ४ खोकन दे तुइ धरे आय ॥

English Translation.

1. The mother of a girl named Khokan is crying out : " O Khokan !
O Khokan ! "
2. But into whose boat has gone Khokan to sail ?
3. This boat is rowed by seven crows.
4. O Khokan ! Come home.

The foregoing nursery-rhyme, which is published at page 145 of Babu Jagindra Nāth Sarkārs' *Khukumanir Chhadā* or "*The Girl-baby's Nursery-rhymes*" is illustrated by a quaint woodcut which represents six crows as rowing a boat, and one crow acting as the helmsman. Though we find that, in nursery-rhymes, various animals are represented as acting as players upon a musical instrument, bearers of umbrella, drivers of coaches and so forth, it is difficult to make out why the maker of the preceding nursery-rhyme should have hit upon the Indian house-crow as the rowers and the helmsman of a mythical boat.

The only plausible explanation that occurs to me is that, most likely, the Indian house-crow was the totem of some forgotten clan of boatmen, and that it is for this reason that the crow has been represented in the preceding nursery-rhyme as the rowers and the helmsman of the boat.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS No. XII.—ON THREE ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTHS ABOUT THE SPOTS ON THE PEACOCK'S TAIL-FEATHERS.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE Indian Peacock (*Pavo cristatus*) is a very familiar bird of the Indian countryside. It is commonly found in Central and South-Central India, Trans-Gangetic Provinces, the Terai of the Himalayas and Assam. It is also very common in Midnapur, West Burdwan, Orissa and Sambalpur.

It is called *Mor* and *Tāūs* in Hindi and *Mayūr* in Bengali.

As is well known, it is a gorgeously plumaged bird. But the most conspicuous portions of its plumage are its long tail feathers each of which ends in an 'eye' or ocellus consisting of a purplish-black heart-shaped nucleus surrounded by blue within a coppery disc, with an outer rim of alternating green and bronze.

The most characteristic habit of this bird is that of strutting or, as it is popularly called, dancing. It begins to strut from the beginning of December till the end of the rainy season. It generally dances from seven o'clock in the morning till about 10 A.M. While dancing, the males erect their tails and trains and strut, and, thereby, display their gorgeous colour before the pea-hens.

It is the 'eyes', or ocelli or spots on the peacock's tail-feathers which excited feelings of great wonder and admiration in the hearts of primitive peoples. They, therefore, began to think as to how this bird had obtained those beautiful spots on his tail-feathers, and set about to discover the means whereby he had obtained the same. Being unable to discover the physical causes thereof, they invented or manufactured ætiological myths or stories which would very plausibly account for the origin of those spots. As a result of our search for these myths, we have found that three primitive peoples have respectively attempted, in three different ways, to account for the origin of these 'eyes' or spots.

We find that the ancient Hindu myth-maker has invented the following myth for the purpose of explaining the evolution of these spots :—

When Rāvaṇa, the demon-king of Laṅkā (or Ceylon) invaded heaven for the purpose of conquering the gods, the latter headed by Indra, knowing that the former could not be vanquished by them, fled away, therefrom. While flying away, Indra, the king of the gods, came across a peacock and, for the purpose of protecting himself from the demon-king's onslaughts, hid himself under the wings of the peacock. For this act of shelter, Indra conferred the following boon on the bird, saying : " I am *Sahasrāksha* (सहस्रक्ष) or " *the possessor of one thousand eyes*". As you have saved my life from the demon-king's attack, I am pronouncing this blessing on you that you,

who are a plain-plumaged and dull-coloured bird, should, henceforth, also be the possessor of one thousand eyes. As the result of this blessing, the peacock became possessed of gorgeously-coloured plumage and obtained the "eyes" or ocelli or spots on his tail-feathers*.

Next, we find that another primitive people—the Khāsis, who belong to the Mongoloid stock and dwell in the Khāsia and Jaintia Hills in Assam, have sought to account for the evolution of the aforementioned spots by manufacturing the undermentioned pretty but pathetic myth :—

When the world was young, U. Klew, the peacock, was an ordinary and plain-looking bird. But he was very proud.

The birds of the jungle assembled in a durbar, and resolved to send U. Klew the peacock as their ambassador to Ka Sngi, the Sun-maiden, who ruled in the blue realm above and shed upon the world below her beams generously which made the vegetation grow and the beasts and birds cheerful and lively.

When U. Klew arrived in the blue heaven, Ka Sngi, who was living alone and pining for a companion married the former. She loved him to distraction and served him with her whole heart. The result of this was that the Sun-maiden could not find any time for shedding her beams upon the world below. Consequently, the crops could not grow, the beasts and birds became cheerless, and a great famine overtook the land.

Men and animals, in their distress, took counsel together and, by means of divination, came to know that U. Klew's presence in heaven was the sole cause of their tribulation. So they determined that U. Klew must, by all manner of means, be lured back to the earth. With this object in view, they sought the assistance of a cunning woman named Ka Sabuit.

Ka Sabuit dug a plot of land in the form of a woman and sowed it with mustard seed. When the seeds sprouted, grew up into plants and bore a profusion of yellow flowers the whole plot looked like a beautiful maiden dressed in a mantle of gold that dazzled the eyes.

In the meantime, U. Klew was getting tired of the company of his wife, the Sun-maiden, and longed very much to return to the world below and to his former associates. So, one day, he came out of Ka Sngi's palace and looked at the world below.

While looking below, his eyes caught a glimpse of Ka Sabuit's plot of mustard-cultivation which looked like a beautiful maiden dressed in a robe of gold. He at once fell in love with the supposed maiden and made up his mind to marry her.

* For this myth, I am indebted to Mr. Jugal Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāchārya, B.Sc., Post-Graduate student of Anthropology in the Calcutta University.

When he was about to start for the world below for the purpose of marrying the supposed maiden, his wife Ka Sngi besought him with tears in her eyes not to desert her. But U. Klew was inexorable and did not pay any heed to his wife's tears and entreaties.

While U. Klew was flying downwards Ka Sngi followed her husband weeping. As she wept, her tears bedewed U. Klew's plumage which was thereby transformed into all the colours of the rainbow. *While some large tear-drops happening to fall on his tail-feathers were transformed into the large brilliant-hued spots or 'eyes' which the Khāsis call Ummat Ka Sngi (or the Sun's tears), even to the present day.*

Every morning, it is said, the peacock can be seen stretching forth his neck towards the sky and flapping his wings to greet the coming of Ka Sngi; and the only happiness left to him is to spread his lovely feathers to catch the beams which she once more sheds upon the earth.*

Then again, another primitive people—the ancient Greeks have explained the origin of the 'eyes' or spots or ocelli on the tail-feathers of the peacock by framing the undermentioned myth :—

Argus, son of Agenor and Inachus, possessed one hundred eyes. When Zeus, the king of the gods, became enamoured of the nymph Io, his wife Hera became extremely jealous of the latter. Fearing that Hera would slay Io, he transformed the nymph into the form of a heifer. But the queen of heaven was equal to the occasion, and, suspecting that her husband would again metamorphose the nymph into any other form, set the one-hundred-eyed Argus to keep watch and ward over Io. But Zeus sent Hermes, the messenger of the gods, to lull Argus to sleep by the music of his lyre, and then to slay the latter. Hermes carried out his orders to the very letter. After Argus had been killed by Hermes, Hera took the former's one hundred eyes and placed them on the tail of the peacock which bird was sacred to her.

On comparing the aforementioned three ætiological myths, we find :—

(a) The ancient Hindu myth-maker has commemorated in the foregoing first myth the expression of gratitude for a kindly act done by a member of the bird-creation to a very superior god.

(b) The myth-maker of the primitive Khāsis has enshrined in the second myth the memory of a great sorrow felt by a faithful wife on her being deserted by her fickle-hearted husband.

(c) The ancient Greek myth-maker has commemorated, in the third myth, the expression of our employer's appreciation of good services rendered by a faithful servant.

* *Vide* the myth entitled : *How the Peacock got his beautiful feathers* in Mrs. Raby's *Folk Tales of the Khāsis*, London : Macmillan & Co., 1920, pp. 10—17.

MYTHS REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF SEX.

BY P. K. GODE, ESQ.

WE scarcely question the fact of Sex. Like innumerable things which form the network of our belief, Sex is taken for granted. Yet to an inquiring mind the problem of Sex and its origin presents the same inscrutable character as the problem of God or the problem of Life. Even with the advance of modern Science, the problem, how Sex-differentiation started at the commencement of creation is as mysterious as ever. Myths are, of course, crude attempts to explain away anything that appears mysterious to an untrained mind but they show a spirit of inquiry as also poetic imagination of the early mind. This will appear from the three following myths regarding the origin of Sex:—

(1) *The Hindu Myth*.—In the Manusmṛti * we are told that the Male and the Female were created by the Creator (Brahmā) by dividing his own person into two halves, the Male further begetting on the Female the Primeval Being called *Virāta*. This Primeval Being created Manu, who in his turn created the ten '*prajāpatis*' or the progenitors. These progenitors created the rest of the creation including men and beasts. † Subsequent detailed account of the creation includes species of both the Sexes.

The complementary character of the Sexes is represented in this myth by asserting that they are two halves of one whole. The explanation of Sex-differentiation remains as arbitrary as the operation of cutting a lemon into two halves. The process of procreation is made use of by the creator in producing the Primeval Person. It is stated further in the same account of creation that the Primeval Person created Manu by practising penance and Manu also had to practise penance for the creation of the ten progenitors who are responsible for the rest of the creation. We wonder why the factor of penance has been brought in to interrupt the process of procreation once started by the Creator. Of course there are some instances in Sanskrit literature of persons acquiring the Power of creating humanly impossible things by virtue of austere penance but we need not seek any logic or consistency in such myths and must take them for what they are worth.

(2) *The Christian Myth*.—This is the familiar myth of Adam and Eve. Like the *Virāta* of the Hindu myth, he is the great ancestor of the human family. Unlike the *Virāta*, who is represented as begotten of the two

* Manusmṛti, I, 32.

† *Ibid.*, I, 39.

halves of the Creator's person, Adam was made of the dust of the ground yet in God's image and after his likeness. The lord God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and caused him to become a living soul. The Creator of Adam thinking that it was not good for man to be alone, provided a companion for him, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh—a helpmate for him, fitted to aid and comfort him. The Creator of Virāta, however, instead of arranging for the comfort of his creation left him to the arduous task of austere penance.

(3) *The Greek Myth.*—This myth attributed by Plato to Hristophanes is summed up by Mr. Finck in his book on “Romantic Love and Personal Beauty”.* It is as follows:—“At the beginning there were three sexes; one the male, descended of the sun-god; the second, female, descended of the earth; and the third, which united the attributes of both sexes, descended of the moon. Each of these beings, moreover, had two pairs of hands and legs, and two faces, and the figure was round, and in rapid motion revolved like a wheel, the pairs of legs alternately touching the ground and describing an arc in the air. These beings were fierce, powerful, and vain, so they attempted to storm heaven and attack the gods. As Zeus did not wish to destroy them—since that would have deprived him of sacrifices and other forms of human devotion—he resolved to punish them by diminishing their strength. So he directed Apollo to cut each of them into two, which was done; and thus the number of human beings was doubled. Each of these half-beings now continually wandered about, seeking its other half. And when they found each other, their only desire was to be reunited by Vulcan and never be parted again.”

The following characteristics of the Sexes stand in relief in the three myths given above:—

1. That the sexes are complementary.
2. That they have a divine origin.
3. That the process of division is precedent to sex-differentiation.

* Edition of 1887, Vol. I, pp. 137-138.

"LIFE IN THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE."

BY SIR EVAN MACHONOCHE.

'LIFE in the Indian Civil Service', by Sir Evan Machonochie, is dedicated to the under-graduates and school boys of the British Isles. Apart from its call for adventure and its invitation to the Englishman for an honourable and attractive career in India, the book ~~would~~^{is} be of unfailing interest to people in Mysore. Three chapters are devoted entirely to his service and impressions in Mysore. To form an adequate estimate of the condition of our native land during this century and of the progress achieved by the ruler and his people during this period, we have to refer to the published documents bearing on the history and administration of our dear country. They are to be found in the following amongst others :—

- (1) Addresses delivered at the Representative Assembly.
- (2) Speeches by His Highness Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Maharaja of Mysore.
- (3) Speeches by Sir M. Visvesvaraya.
- (4) Speeches by Sir Albion Banerji.
- (5) Proceedings of the Representative Assembly, the Legislative Council, the Industrial Exhibition and the Economic Conference.
- (6) The Mysore Blue-book Journal.
- (7) Periodical Reports issued from time to time by the several departments of Government.

While it has to be regretted that the speeches of the other Dewans are not available in book form, it is, however, a matter for some satisfaction that sufficient material is forthcoming for an authentic history on the progress and development in Mysore during the period 1900—1926.

Great as has been our achievement, and remarkable the progress that has marked Mysore, in the immediate past, we cannot help repeating the words of a Mysore statesman in the preface to his speeches, that "The Mysore standards of earning and living are low, that this low efficiency is due to ignorance and lack of training and that every subject of His Highness the Maharaja can render personal service to his country by encouraging education, effort and enterprise to the best of his power and opportunities."

As everyone knows, much has been done by the State to encourage private effort and initiative in every form of nation-building activity. During a quarter of a century, we have not merely maintained the benefits that we enjoyed at the beginning but have pressed on to a yet higher standard of

efficiency. No human institution can be perfect and every scheme of administration will disclose defects of one kind or another, but in being actuated by a sense of public duty and in emphasizing honest opinions it will be possible for the administration to win the approbation of all.

At the commencement of the period, 'the young Maharaja' was 'invested with his powers'. He has most amply fulfilled the expectation of his teacher, Mr. S. M. (afterwards Sir Stuart) Fraser, in every contingency that has arisen. "Happily His Highness to-day is ruling wisely a contented people. A kind and considerate chief and a loyal friend, he carries on young shoulders a head of extraordinary maturity which was, however, no bar to a boyish and whole-hearted enjoyment of manly sports as well as the simple pleasures of life. His Highness' path at the beginning of his reign was not all easy going. On the one hand, any display of reforming zeal which affected the vested interests or ambitions of any class of his subjects was attributed by the latter to the malign influence of the Residency or myself and to the corresponding weakness on the part of His Highness. On the other, as he pursued the only right policy for an Indian ruler of giving his own people the chance of showing what they were worth and of substituting an Indian for an Englishman whenever a vacancy occurred, he injured the feelings of the surviving members of the Mysore Commission and their friends, and of others who had received appointments in the time of his father...." But "As a matter of fact no Indian prince ever showed greater attachment to the English friends of his choice.... Through all initial difficulties the Maharaja pursued his placid way, undisturbed by the criticisms of the thoughtless, the uninformed or the dissatisfied. He arrived at decisions with deliberation but his mind, once made up, was unalterable, and the unforgivable sin in his eyes was inconsistency or facile change of front on the part of a responsible officer. Himself absolutely reliable, he found no excuse for vacillation in others. His patience was inexhaustible, he was never the young man in a hurry, but as years rolled by, one scheme after another of his own planning was realized with a completeness that was impressive and with an entire absence of fuss or disturbance that was not less remarkable.... He was a man of singular depth and strength of character. The State has ever been in the van of progress and is now equipped as no other with works and institutions of public usefulness or amenity." The published documents bear ample testimony to these facts.

Sir Evan's Life is replete with references to important incidents and to the personalities of the time. As a District Officer he seems to have been impressed about the regular hours of work, receiving and hearing petitioners and control of the subordinate magistracy. It is difficult if not impossible

sufficiently to emphasize their value. An officer must always be in office up to time, firstly in his own interest for the quick and methodical despatch of work but far more for the sake of his subordinates and the public who must have their early morning and evening free for their own domestic purposes. For, "It is well to remember that subordinate officials, pleaders and the general public are often just as busy men as you are, and, further, that, while you draw your pay whether you are in your office or not, waste of their time may mean loss of their money." Then, as regards petitions if the poor man knows that his petition has been heard and understood, he goes off comforted in some degree. Truths no doubt, but truths never practised.

The supervision of the work of subordinate magistrates is important for the insight it gives into the mental calibre and judgment of the officers. Sir Evan felt (in Dharwar) that few of the second class magistrates showed any knowledge of the world or sense of proportion in the matter of sentences, and the third class, mostly elderly men who had risen from the ranks, were still worse. A gang of deer hunters once got hold of a sheep and had hung it up on a tree on the roadside near a small Hindu temple with a view to skin it and cut it up. A fussy police sub-inspector coming along the road with his attendant orderly directed the latter to take the names of the gang and charge them with committing an act likely to injure the religious feelings of another community. As he was writing the names the old woman who was the head of the party protested and caught hold of his wrist. The sub-inspector: "Charge her with obstructing a public officer in the performance of his duty." The old lady picked up a rope and announced her intention of hanging herself on the nearest tree. S. I.:—"Charge her with attempting to commit suicide!" And charged she was, with all three offences, convicted by the magistrate and fined Rs. 100, the whole gang being probably unable to raise 100 annas between them.

His views on the position of the Dewan in Mysore are interesting. "A succession of strong and able Dewans had gradually gathered an undue share of authority into their own hands. The Dewan was the inheritor of an autocratic tradition in the matter of financial control, but the Maharaja had necessarily to be the actual ruler of his people and master in his own house. Apart from this, the position of a Dewan, especially if he is a native of the State, is no easy one. Every individual who has a grievance or wants a job for himself or a relative considers that he has a claim on his time and goodwill and a substantial portion of his time unless he has unusual powers of resistance is frittered away on petty personal questions. He must keep in the good graces of his chief, conciliate public opinion, and maintain amicable relations with the Resident, and the middle path of wisdom often takes some

finding. He can call neither his time nor his soul his own, and one distinguished minister of another great State was heard to exclaim, in the fulness of his heart that he would sooner be a Dhobi's Donkey!" Given a minister with tact, intelligence and experience and a financial adviser well aware of what is due to the Dewan and the State, with adequate freedom to express himself on matters involving substantial expenditure or a departure from financial rules, it is difficult to foresee friction such as must have occurred early in Mysore. Much water has flown under the Cauvery bridge since Sir Evan's time and we can recall with pardonable pride the administration of Sir M. Visvesvaraya to point out how a progressive policy can go hand in hand with financial stability even though the Dewan may happen to be a native of the State. As Lord Hardinge said, natives of the State should be properly trained to occupy the highest positions in the State and be entrusted with responsibility.

Sir Evan does not refer to the Legislative Council which was inaugurated when he was still with us. Perhaps if he had had the opportunity of seeing our councils in working he might not have minded a hard pillow either. He seems to think, however, that the reformed Legislative Councils in British India are more of a reality and much more interesting than the old ones. That would suggest that our Legislative Council which is of the old Morleyan type would not commend itself to him. As regards the Representative Assembly, no doubt the first Indian approach to a democratic representative body, which never had in his time nor has now any legislative or administrative power, still continues to serve a useful purpose as an organ of public opinion and discussing matters of current interest, grievances and suggestions of all kinds. It may be recalled, though Sir Evan does not refer to it, that, after the Montague reforms in British India, a committee in Mysore deliberated upon for a long time and submitted a report which formed the basis for the constitution now in working. Much has been claimed for this Report. Indeed the Earl of Ronaldshay considers it to be a constructive contribution to the solution of the problem of Indian Government taking cognizance of present-day tendencies throughout the world, but yet based upon Indian rather than Western theory and giving expression to Indian rather than European ideals.*

It is not the purpose of this review to go into detail on either the working of this constitution or canvass criticism as to its defects, but the statement that "It is a monarchy, however, which lays no claim to absolutism, for the ruler, according to the theory upon which the scheme is based, rules by virtue of his representative character and a referendum to the people—as represented in the case of Mysore by the Representative Assembly—is the

* "The Heart of Aryavarta", page 239, *et seq.*

means whereby the unity between the ruler and his people is made real and effective" requires closer and more serious consideration. A short appendix to "The Heart of Aryavarta" summarizes the recommendations of the Seal Committee. Any criticism of the Mysore constitution must take note of the cardinal fact that the Treaty obligations with the Government of India rest on the Sovereign who cannot share his responsibility in this behalf for obvious reasons with his people. Nor can we forget that the people of British India through their Legislatures are indirectly legislating to our detriment even in financial matters. A land-locked State has additional difficulties of its own. As Sir Evan Machonochie says, "As local governments (in British India) are manned more and more by Indians, difficult and delicate questions arise. The princes are content to deal with the representatives of His Majesty and the Governor-General, but do not appreciate a policy or decisions which may be dictated by Indian politicians. The problems of future internal developments of the Indian States and of their relations with British India are full of difficulty. It is impossible not to wonder how long the State subjects will be content with autocratic rules while the Districts alongside are being steadily democratized. A solution will, no doubt, be found, but it will tax all the statesmanship of the ruling princes and the Government of India to find it." If it should be realized, as it has been realized in Mysore, that people, nurtured on ideas of liberty and with aspirations of their own, should be free to join hands with the ruler in order to determine, not in the abstract what is best for themselves, but facing the realities of the situation, the practical ways of dealing with them, the solution will be more easy of attainment. An intelligent appreciation of the intentions and policy of the Government, moderation and practical good sense in the discussion of public questions, utilizing of opportunities afforded for gaining strength and experience in matters calculated for the improvement of the moral and material condition of the people, a human outlook and ordinary human considerations and, more than all, an enlightened self-interest for the welfare of the State, will go far in advancing and accelerating the opportunities of the people in the sphere of public administration. From the point of view of the administration, higher statesmanship, great courage and robust faith in the people, must likewise be forthcoming. Given these, no State can possibly fail to be in the vanguard of progress.

In the Mysore Secretariat, a file need not undertake a wearisome journey of extravagant noting and the inter-departmental game of battledore and shuttlecock, but, thanks to the re-organization inaugurated by Mr. D. M. Narasinga Rao and by others, cases come up in a shape that would give credit to any Secretariat in India. By a system of competitive examinations and

direct recruitment, the best talent in the State has been forthcoming to the great benefit of the Civil Service. It must be gratifying to every well-wisher that the system of competitive examinations referred to by Sir Evan Machonochie tempered by nominations and confined to the people of Mysore has been maintained by successive administrations in an improved form and to the lasting benefit of the administrative services in the State.

Sir Evan considered the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition as well organized and as having played an appreciable part in the economic development of the State. It is a great pity that for several years past the Exhibition movement has been suspended. It is devoutly to be hoped, with the promised revival of the economic activities of the State in an increasing degree, larger opportunities and facilities will be afforded for advertising our best local products and industries so that Mysore may again benefit by it. For, witness the eager multitudes that thronged to the Daly Memorial Hall with joyous and anxious anticipations to see the Exhibition that was organized by the Department of Industries a couple of years ago! 'The Gudigar in Mysore is the only carver in wood or stone that has retained in some measure the hereditary gift of spontaneous design and is richly endowed with artistic temperament.' Of Halebid and Belur Temples, Sir Evan is in ecstasies. 'They are covered with a wealth of decorative carving of wonderful richness and beauty. In point of imagination, intricacy combined with freedom of design and perfection of execution, the decoration of these two temples is the last work of the Hindu craftsman at the height of his powers.'

The Mysore Palace was in building in his time. It is now complete though vast improvements are still being effected. The Palace is somewhat in the style of the Chandragiri Palace, and, though possibly open to the criticism of purists, is impressive and well suited to the purpose. The massive stone is got from the local quarries. Much of the detail of carving is admirable and is in design and execution much in advance of most modern Indian work. The decoration of the Durbar Hall was done by the Travancore artist whose treatment of it with brilliant painting and gilding is effective and well suited to the scenes that it was to frame.

Sir Evan justly praises Bangalore but he gave considerable attention for the improvement of Mysore. "We got to work, cleared out the slums, straightened and widened the roads, put in a surface drainage system leading into main sewers that discharged into septic tanks, provided new quarters to the displaced population and tidied up generally." Largely owing to the interest evinced and the efforts put forth by His Highness the Maharaja and his trusted Dewan, Amin-ul-Mulk Mirza Mahomed Ismail, "even more ambitious improvements have been effected and the City of Mysore will

to-day challenge comparison for beauty, cleanliness and general amenity with any capital of its size in the world." Another city which is appreciated very much is Jamnagar, which looks busy, bright and cheerful.

A most well-deserved tribute is given to Her Highness the Maharani of Mysore, the late regent. "A certain clinging to power would have been more than excusable on the part of a lady of character and education, who for the six years of her son's minority had ruled the State. But I can say that never, during the seven years that I spent in Mysore, was I aware of the faintest indication on her part of a desire to intrude, even in minor personal matters, upon her son's domain. Dignity and good sense could no further go." This relationship between mother and son in India, where the mother finds her joy in surrendering herself to her son, cannot fail to recall to mind the austere attitude of good Queen Victoria towards the late King Edward.

The Sivasamudram Electric power scheme was launched by Sir Sheshadri Iyer, 'perhaps the greatest Indian Statesman of the last forty years,' who 'had the imagination to appreciate the potentialities of the project and the courage to see it through in the face of a clamorous opposition from the timid and the factious'.

Evidently, Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi somehow failed to appeal to the judgment of Sir Evan Machonochie, who came to Mysore fresh from service under Lord Curzon. It may be permissible to doubt whether Sir Evan Machonochie has made due allowance for all the difficulties that confronted Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi during his Dewanship.

Mr. J. S. Chakravarthi knew what was due to a Ruling Prince as well as himself, moved with the Dewan with tact and showed him the consideration that was his due, and for a number of years did admirable work for the State. Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao is referred to as 'a well-educated man of much character with whom it was a pleasure to be associated'. (Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao) was a Mysorean, who, besides possessing high professional qualifications, was the most genial and kindly of men. The Editor of the *Mysore Herald* (Mr. M. Venkatakrishnaiya), the organ of the local opposition, 'devoted much ink and eloquence on our early efforts towards a new efficiency, and on my unworthy self, and preached "Mysore for the Mysorean" with much vigour. But his intentions were good and we always got on very amicably.' Col. Desraj Urs was 'a keen all-round sportsman and fine polo player in his day' and 'owned a large stable with which he had carried off many classic events'.

Sir Evan pays a handsome compliment to the musical talents of Veene Seshanna whom he had later on invited to Dharwar. He noticed exceptional talent in a palace work-boy Venkatappa and encouraged him in his work.

It would be comforting to him to know that Venkatappa has more than fulfilled the promise of his early youth and that his work is classed with those of the greatest masters of the present day by competent critics.

Only one or two other matters and we have done. The Government Press is a model of efficiency and teaches how a press should be equipped and run. The mining area (Kolar Gold Fields) is one of the most orderly and well regulated of its kind in the world. May we observe that if it were possible for Sir Evan to take a flying visit to Mysore, he will find that the State has improved beyond recognition since his day?

Sir Evan Machonochie was in Mysore for seven years as Private Secretary to the Maharaja. This 'gave me an appreciation of their point of view and their peculiar difficulties, while enabling me to visualize the Government of India, its methods and its policy from a new angle. Intimacy with cultivated Indians inspired a new sympathy with their qualities, their disabilities and the problems and interests of their daily life, which few Englishmen have the opportunity of gaining under ordinary conditions'. Lady Machonochie and himself 'took away in our hearts a warmth of affection for the Ruler, his people and his country, that can never grow cold'.

The volume is intended for the candidate who desires to enter the Indian Civil Service. He is told he may not be rich but he can be happy. There is a great deal to interest him in India and it does not change, but "the position of the Englishmen now and in future must be that of helper and counsellor rather than that of director. But that is not a position that should be distasteful to any decent Englishman He must get into sympathy with its people. For the man or woman of insular prejudices and antipathies there is no place, and such are a positive danger to our race and our rule. A rough and overbearing manner and temper or a swaggering assumption of racial superiority simply stamp you with all classes as not a gentleman, excite the resentment of equals and ruin any chance you may have of getting on terms with the humble. On the other hand, a quiet, self-respecting dignity, not to be confused with pomposity, is appreciated.....Looseness of living, undue familiarity and ill-timed exuberance of spirits are not. Above all, a sense of humour and proportion is invaluable."

It must be remembered that 'India is not, and never was,' a conquered country. We owe our position there to our attitude of impartiality towards conflicting races and religions, and to certain qualities of character, which afford to torn and distracted communities the prospect of peace and freedom and of justice between man and man. Questions of racial equality seem to me to be beside the point. What race is there that should claim superiority to peoples that gave to the world a Buddha, an Asoka and an Akbar.

religions and philosophies that embrace every religion and school of thought that has ever existed, an epic literature perhaps unrivalled, and some of the greatest masterpieces in the realm of human art ?'

'It is absurd to suppose that a handful of foreigners from across the sea can continue to rule indefinitely hundreds of millions of Orientals on the patriarchal lines pursued, with no essential modification, down to the time of the present reforms. Apart from questions of elementary right, there are the repeated promises and solemn assurances of the last sixty years that will help our Eastern fellow-subjects along the road to self-government. The unrest from 1906 onwards may be largely attributed to the feeling, that prevailed among the educated classes, that we were not redeeming those promises. And if India was not to become an open wound in the side of the Empire, the steady pursuit of a declared end was imperative.'

Having nurtured Indians on the strong meat of English liberty, "we owe them duties which we cannot shirk. The only way to fit men for responsibility is to place responsibility upon them. India is like a sick person, whom we doctored and nursed for the past 150 years and, now convalescent, she kicks at restrictions and demands stronger food than we think it advisable to give. The only matter for wonder is that the struggles are not more violent. Hitherto we have been able to help India because of the differences (in environment and opportunity) and, when that ceases to be so, the chief justification for our presence there will have gone."

The volume which is written in a correct and entertaining style is excellently got up, profusely illustrated and forms most interesting reading.

S. SRIKANTAIYA.

REVIEWS.

Aurangazib's Relations with Rajputs, Mahrattas and others.

BY MAULVI ABDUL WALI, ESQ., KHAN SAHIB.

A REPRINT of the above article which appeared recently in the *Islamica* of Leipzig has been kindly sent to us by the author. The Khan Sahib's researches into the old documents relating to the rule of the Moghul Emperor Aurangazib are vast and wide and most of us can recollect his contribution some time ago on the subject to the 'Indian Antiquary'. The author presents for the scrutiny of historians, four carefully extracted Persian letters from the manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

"What Clive is to the Englishman, and Shivaji to the Hindu, so Aurangazib is to the Musalman." Mr. Wali tells us that the defects and drawbacks of Clive and Shivaji are overlooked while their better qualities are remembered by the respective communalists. The motive of the author is, apparently, to find explanations for the shortcomings of Aurangazib and recall to mind his services to Islam. The policy of Akbar has been condemned as irreligious while that of his great-grandson is rightly said to have upheld the orthodox Muslim Church. Then follows a hasty glance over the Indian History of the Moghul period in as much as pertains to the texts. The *Gizya* tax is not looked upon as an evil: it is "a tax that is taken from the non-Muslim subjects of Muslim Government, whereby they ratify the compact that ensures them protection." This explanation for the levy of the tax has been quoted and we are taken back to the ancient times when this religious tax was originally founded.

The first letter was written by Shah Jehan during his last days to Aurangazib when the former was kept in close confinement by the Emperor. This is a very pathetic letter, commencing with the praise of the Emperor. The concluding portions clearly prove that the praises attributed at the beginning are only such as a miserable prisoner would address a tyrant. The old ex-king fervently appeals to his son to accord to him good treatment. He says "Good God! It was yesterday that I was the Lord of nine *Lakhs* of soldiers; and to-day, am in want of a flagon of water." If this letter be genuine, what religious duty would permit the sad treatment given by the son? The letter continues "Let the Hindus be praised in every way. They offer always water to their dead." The appeal is touching and this and the other letters are all very interesting and we are grateful to the Khan Sahib for the very valuable research he has made.

The second letter was addressed by Emperor Alimgir to his last son Mahomed Akbar. Akbar while yet young, left the protection of his father, scheming to secure his father's throne. He fled here and there and at last kept

in close friendship with the Mahrattas in the south. He had a large band of followers but was forsaken, and at the time of this letter was having only a few men on his side. The Emperor asks Akbar to return to him telling him that

“ Although the son is a heap of ashes,

“ He is the collyrium of the eyes of the father and mother.”

The reply from the son to the father is the third letter in the series. Akbar points out that the king is partial in having given preference to his eldest son while the kingdom should have been equally divided among the sons. Jaswant Rao's action in taking the side of Dara Shikoh which has been pointed out by the father as a proof of the Rajputs' infidelity is justified. Mahomed answers his father's letter point by point. He puts the blame of degeneracy on the Emperor and says: “ My father sold the garden of Paradise for two grains of wheat; am I degenerate, if I do not sell it for a grain of barley?” The bygone Emperors of the Moghul dynasty have been fully praised as having been tolerant and industrious. He proceeds to an appreciation of the Hindus whom Aurangazib puts down in loathsome language, and illustrates how these very Rajputs served Akbar the Great loyally and how a small band of three hundred of them “ displayed such Rustum-like qualities and bravery that the event has become (so to say) the inscription in the facade of the world's edifice.”

The last of Mr. Wali's discoveries is a letter from Sambhaji, ‘ the unworthy son of Shivaji ’ to Aurangazib. This letter is a mild protest against the Gizya. There is the same tone of flattery and half-hearted expressions in this letter as are found in the rest. He flatters the king and speaks of the Royal Treasury having been emptied and the latter circumstance being the cause for the imposition or rather the revival of Gizya. Here again is a mention of Akbar Padshah's having “ dispensed justice independently for fifty-two years ” and of having “ for the chastisement of various classes of men—Christians, Jews, Muhammadans, Daudis, Halka and Malka, Atheists, Asriya, Brahmas, and Suturas (Sudras)—adopted the most suitable policy of universal toleration (*Sulh-i-Kull*) and always entertained in his mind kindness towards, and protection of, everyone, for which he became famous by the title of ‘ Jagat Guru ’ (‘ Teacher of the World ’).”

The author's views in regard to the letters may be summed up as follows: The first letter from Shah Jehan is taken as sincerely meant. The wicked treatment given to poor Shah Jehan is admitted and Mr. Wali says that “ on receipt of his father's note, or rather on the surrender of the fort, Aurangazib countermanded his order.” We are told that there is internal evidence that the second letter was written sympathetically and with a well-meant hint to the youngster not to trust himself too much in the hands of the Mahrattas and of Durga Das in particular. We are then told that the reply from Akbar is ‘ feeble in logic, full of effrontery and insubordination ’ and that it was dictated by Durga Das though the authority for this inference, appears to have been inadvertently omitted. This letter has been exhaustively criticized by the author, advancing arguments against each subject of the letter. The fourth letter from Sambhaji,

and Mahomed Akbar's letter are said to be the outcome of the same feeling, and drafted by the same confederacy.

The paper is very well written and exhibits vast learning. As we have already noticed, Mr. Wali has laid open a good treasure in these four letters which, we hope, will be made the best use of by students of Indian History; and anticipate to see ere long some more articles on the subject both by the Maulvi and other scholars.

M. V.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department for the year 1925.

The Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1925, published under the auspices of the University of Mysore forms most instructive and interesting reading. Before proceeding to any detailed notice of the Report, it is our most pleasant duty to record our appreciation of the Government Order directing the Sub-Division Officers to visit every important monument within the Sub-Division, impressing on them at the same time that it is one of their important duties to see that monuments within their jurisdiction are properly looked after. It is a welcome sign of the times that the Savandurga hill, and the Panchalinga temple at Somanathapur are included in the list of ancient monuments and that Government have passed orders regarding preservative measures for the Belur and Halebid temples.

For the first time in the History of Mysore archæology, a detailed survey was undertaken (1) of the Jain basti at Marculi about three miles from Ambuga on the Mysore-Arsikere line, a Hoysala structure, "tricutachala" in plan and (2) of the Harihareshvara temple at Hariharapura, a village in the Chennarayapatna taluk. The temple at Hariharapura reminds us of the Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddavalli. There are no images on the sides of the temple nor inside. They must have been removed decades ago. We agree with Dr. Shamasastri (*vide* page 5 of the Report) that there is much to be desired in the matter of the preservation of these ancient monuments and in interesting the local officers and the people in general as to the necessity for being more vigilant in preserving them from decay.

A large number of manuscripts relating to the Shaiva saints and their early lives, in several languages, were studied during the year. The Government review suggests that these manuscripts throw a flood of light on the social, moral, religious and political views of the times and helps us to determine the chronology of the period in South Indian History. We find the observation is made on the basis of para 45, on page 6 of the Report. We should have been most grateful indeed if the Archæological Department had fixed the dates of the sixty-three Shaiva saints or of as many as possible on a definite basis, but as it is we must be content with a somewhat meagre information that has been vouchsafed to us

in paragraphs 111 to 123 of the Report. It is very much to be desired that conclusions are stated, particularly in matters of chronology, before arguments. We are quite aware that it may not be possible to examine and study a large mass of manuscripts in different languages in a short time but we hope it will be possible to pick out the leading dates for the benefit of the general reader.

Students of Mysore History are rather interested in the Jaina work "Rajavali Kathe" which refers to "Bhattakalanka" as having taught Hoysala, the legendary hero, some Siddhimanthras to conquer "Kunapandya" of Madura about the eighth or early ninth century. Amongst other manuscripts examined is one which purports to give an account of the history of the rulers of Kallahalli.

Turning our attention to epigraphy we find that a record relating to a grant of the Kadamba king Vishnuvarma gives the name of a Pallava king Shanthivarma. It is to be hoped it will be possible to find a definite place ere long for Santhivarma in the Pallava genealogy.

A number of copper-plate grants and inscriptions have been transcribed during the year and they contain very interesting information and deserve careful reading.

The archæological museum is maintained and over a hundred and fifty coins have been added to it. We trust some arrangement will be made by which the interesting and valuable collection of coins at the Government Museum, Bangalore, will be available for examination and inspection. We look forward to a speedy conclusion of the monograph on Halebid, the archæological map of Mysore and other efforts in a similar direction outlined in the Report.

On the whole, a very large volume of work has been put through by the Department and we congratulate Dr. Shamashastry on the excellent get-up of the Report and the thoroughness with which the records have been examined during the year.

No apology is needed for extracting the main results of the historical researches in the year.

(1) Aiyadigal or Kadavarkonayanana, called also Simhanka or Panchapâdasimha, 45th of the 63 Shaiva saints is identified with Simhavarma, father of Bhimavarma, of the Pallava dynasty. (550 A.D.)

(2) Kubja-pandya or Kune Pandya called also Kadumâra or Dirghamâra is ascertained to be the contemporary of Jinasenacharya, the author of *Brihad-dharma-śāstra* of the Jainas of Saka 705 equivalent to A. D. 783.

(3) From this is determined the epoch of Tirujnanasambandhar, Appar, Haradattacharya, the author of *Ujjvala*, a commentary on the Apastamba Grihya and Dharma Sutras and of the Vaishnava saint Tirumangalavar.

(4) Sundaranambinayanar, the last of the 63 Shaiva saints and Therama, the King of Cheras, are ascertained to be the contemporaries of Arikesari II of the Chalukya Feudatories of the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III.

List of Subscriptions and Donations received during the Quarter ending 30th September, 1926.

Name.	Volume.	Amount.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Messrs.				
G. H. Marsden, Bangalore	XVII	5	0	0
S. Srikantaiya, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
B. G. S. Acharya, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Rev. J. A. Vanes, Shimoga .. ..	..	3	0	0
T. P. Krishnasamy, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
Dr. G. J. Cotton Ingram, Bangalore ..	XVII	5	0	0
Rao Sahib B. V. Venkatasami Naidu, Bangalore ..	..	5	0	0
Dr. E. S. Krishnasamy Iyer, Bangalore ..	..	5	0	0
M. Ramachandra Rao, Bangalore, Life Membership	Donation (part)	10	0	0
B. Venkateshachar, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
M. Arunachellam Iyer, Bangalore	XV & XVI	10	0	0
Rajadharma pravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer, Bangalore ..	XIII & XIV	10	0	0
K. Krishna Iyengar, Bangalore	XV	5	0	0
Secretary, Public Library, Mysore	XVII	3	0	0
B. A. Fernandez, Bandra	XVII	3	0	0
K. Ramavarma Raja, Cranganore	XVII	3	0	0
The Hon'ble Mr. S. E. Pears, Bangalore, Life Membership	Donation	100	0	0
C. S. Venkateshan, Madras	XVII	3	0	0
Rev. Father Accoutriere, Bangalore	XVII	5	0	0
G. H. Krumbiegel, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
C. E. Rama Rao, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Rev. Zenas A. Olson, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Rev. Fr. C. Brown, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Rev. Fr. A. Lobo, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Rev. M. B. Taylor, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
W. H. Thomson, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Col. P. A. Skipwith, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
Rev. H. Bjeerum, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
P. F. Bowring, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
C. S. Kuppusamy Iyengar, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
B. Balaji Rao, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
C. S. Dorasamy Iyer, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
M. N. Pranatharthi haran, Bangalore	XVI & XVII	10	0	0
Rao Bahadur P. R. Vengu Iyer, Bangalore ..	XVII	5	0	0

Messrs.	Name.	Volume.	Amount.		
			RS.	A.	P.
	Rao Saheb C. P. A. Aiyer, Bangalore ..	XVII	5	0	0
	C. Rama Rao, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
	B. V. Rama Iyengar, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
	B. Srinivasa Iyengar, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
	Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur				
	R. Narasimhachar, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
	P. Sampat Iyengar, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
	D. Venkata Ramaiya, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
	Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajkot .. ..	..	3	0	0
	R. Ranga Rao, Bangalore .. ..	..	5	0	0
	M. R. N. Sharma, Chingleput .. ..	..	3	0	0
	Principal, Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram ..	..	3	0	0
	A. Hayes, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
	P. S. Lakshmi Narasu, Bangalore	XV & XVI (part)	5	0	0
	H. Srinivasa Rao, Bangalore	XV (part)	1	0	0
	N. Seshadri, Bangalore	XVII (part)	2	0	0
	H. A. F. Bracken, Siddapur	XV, XVI & XVII	9	12	0

**Books presented or purchased during the Quarter
ending 30th September 1926.**

Presented by—

Khan Saheb Khaja Khan, Madras.—

The Secret of Ana'l Haqq.

Sri Balamanorama Press, Madras.—

Āścaryacūdāmaṇi, a Drama by Śaktibhadra.

Government of Travancore.—

1. Pras nabhasha with Introduction note, by K. S. Menon, Esq. M.A., L.T.

2. Jātakapadhati, do. do. do.

3. Bhashajatakapadhati, do. do. do.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington.—

Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, by P. Frances Densmore.

Rao Saheb A. M. Thangavelu Mudaliar, Esq., Bangalore.—

1. A Guide to Ellora Cave Temples.

2. A Guide to Ajanta Frescoes.

Khan Saheb Abdul Wali, Esq., Calcutta.—

Aurangzeb's Relations with Rajputs, Mahrattas and others.

The Trades Publicity Corporation, Bangalore City.—

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IMAGE OF SHIVA-GURU (AGASTYA)
From Tjandi Banon, South Kedoe, Java

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THE CULT OF AGASTYA: AND THE ORIGIN OF
INDIAN COLONIAL ART.

BY O. C. GANGOLY, ESQ.

(*A paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

THE new rays of the early Sun love to kiss the tops of the neighbouring hillocks, and tinge the nearest trees with the flush of its new roses. But the roses of its first rays do not tarry long on their first loves but soon change into a deep crimson; presently the seven rays unite and conspire to a brilliance and effulgence to light up the whole universe, and in a few hours, the seven horses of his chariot run up the mighty vault in its conquering career—and before the day is much old—all the dark continents and tiny islands across the seas have become the rich colonies of the mighty King of Light. The daily history of this natural phenomenon is an appropriate symbol of the migration of many forms of human culture and spirituality from the beginning of times. The Light of Christ has shot its messages in a few years' over the far ends of the earth and the Cross has travelled across uncharted seas. Likewise, the Prophet of the Arabian deserts has sent forth his Crescent, at first on the back of slowly moving camels and caravans, but presently, on galloping horses which have spread the Kingdom of Islam from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Similarly the missionaries of Indian culture have not tarried for ever at home, but have gone forth sometimes in russet robe,

Note.—The subject was illustrated by lantern slides.

and sometimes in yellow "chibara", carrying the trident, or the Bo-tree, but always the nectar of immortality for all the thirsty people of the earth, far and near, across high seas and beyond impenetrable mountains of snow. These fascinating stories of the migrations of many cultures have assumed beautiful forms of drama of singular beauty and significance. The Vedic Rishis and the Buddhist patriarchs have ever aspired to broadcast the products of their culture—across the 'seven seas' and to share their *amrita* or *tri-ratna* with the humblest savage and the lowly barbarian. The 'dasyus' and the 'dānavas' who often came to spoil the rituals and ceremonies of the Vedic Rishis in the early Aryan settlements soon softened their oppositions and bended their knees before the Aryan fire-altars; and the old Rishi, of flowing white beard and stately matted locks, as he gave his benediction to his new convert, never forgot to plant in his heart the seed of Aryan thought as he marked his face and body with the symbols of holy ashes and the black spots of his *homa* libations. But many would not meekly accept the new messages and slunk away in neighbouring forests and hills from which they would emerge and offer stubborn opposition to the progress of the Aryan religion and, alas, they often came to vanquish or be vanquished in the conflict. The story of this conflict of culture is very mysteriously echoed in many myths and traditions of the Indian *purānas* and many are the names and personalities who are credited—in the face of dangers and difficulties—with the onerous task of carrying the torch of new light to the dark and distant borders of "Āryāvarta"—which grew from the tiny colony of the Punjab valley—to the extensive regions of the Gangetic plains—and gradually crossed the Vindhyaś—to Aryanize the great countries of the South—the 'dakṣiṇāpatha'—the Southern region, which has ever looked forward to the advent of new missionaries from the 'auspicious north'—the 'Mangala disai'. And of the many patriarchs and sages who have crossed the Vindhyaś to Aryanize the South, the name and personality of one stands out in bold relief. It is of the great sage Agastya—the rishi 'born in a pitcher,'—and hence known as 'Kalasaja' or 'Kumbha Yoni'. We are not concerned whether he was a mere mythical name or a person in flesh and blood. He presents and stands for a concrete symbol of the adventurous spirit of the early Aryans—who have ever sought fresh fields and pastures new for the colonization and development of Aryan thought. And the mythic story of his career told in terms of all the phantasy of 'pauranic' imagination, helps us to visualize the steps and methods by which a great civilization overflowed its geographical boundaries and fulfilled its destinies in the lap of new conditions, in the blood of new races, and in types of new culture-forms. If the stories of the epics and the 'purānas' can be believed,

→Agastya belonged to the temple of Shiva—and Kāshī, the old Benares, was his home and haunt, and very glowing and realistic is the picture which the 'purānas' draw of this devotee of Shiva—as he goes to the river Ganges for his morning ablutions—in very slow steps in his wooden sandals—carefully avoiding the pebbles of lingams, as they are said to be strewn all over the streets of Benares. He was very æsthetic in his demands. He would not take for a spouse any but the most beautiful woman of his time—Lopā-mudrā, a princess of Vidarbha, who had vanquished all rivals in beauty competition. But he was not destined to live in the North for a long time, for the call of the South came, as it must have come to many of his ancestors and predecessors and he set out on his memorable journey to the South never to return. And 'Agastya yātrā' is now a synonym for the travel of one who goes forth but never returns. The loss of the North, as we shall see, was the gain of the South. The part that Agastya took in reclaiming the primeval forests in Southern India, and in making them fit for human habitation, is indicated in the Rāmāyana in several passages in no uncertain terms:—In the Aranya Kānda, 11th sarga, sloka 81, we read: "Nigrihya tarasām mrityum lokānām hitakāmyayā, Dakshinā dik kritāyena sharanyā punya karmmanā."

Translation: "He who, having vanquished the deadly asuras, by his many beneficent acts, made the Southern region accessible or habitable, for the good of the people."

Agastya's conquest of the South was indeed treated and accepted by all as a very well-known fact or tradition in history and it almost passed into a proverb—for Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyana, when he recovers Sītā after killing Rāvana, compares his own feat to that of Agastya in conquering the impenetrable and inaccessible Southern regions:—"Tatkritam Rāvanam hatwā mayedam māna kānkshinā, nirjjitā jīvalokasya tapasya Bhāvitatmanā; Agastyena durādharma muninā dakshinevadik" (Lankā Kānda, 117th sarga, slokas 13-14).

Translation: "For the sake of retrieving my honour I killed Rāvana and I have won and recovered thee, O Sītā! even as sage Agastya won and reclaimed the inaccessible Southern regions."

We can almost trace his footprints as he walked from place to place in his adventurous journey to the South, for the stages of his travels are marked and punctuated, as it were, by his little 'āsramas' (hermitage) which he set up at different places in Southern India—and are even now known as "Agastyāsrama". In the Rāmāyana, we find Rāma stopped at one of his āsramas at Nasik, a few miles from Dandakāranya. But the great sage does not seem to have led a quiet life in his leafy huts. He often used

his psychic powers to quell many a demon (a picturesque symbol for an opponent of Aryan thought) who disturbed the little Aryan colonies with which Agastya studded the whole of the Deccan. Local legends still carry the memory of many such exploits. One of such demons called Ilvala is localized at Aivalli (modern Aihole), another, named Vâtâpi, at Badami (formerly Bâtâpipura). They were a terror to the Northern settlers in Dandakâranya*, until they were quelled by the great sage at the holy Malakuta, three miles east of Badami which is still known as *Dakshinâ Kâsî*, or Southern Benares to which the presence of Agastya gave its holy halo. It is significant that Badami (Badia maui) is mentioned by Ptolemy in A.D. 150.† The later career of Badami as the stronghold of Hindu political powers is gleaned from inscriptions one of which actually refers to Vâtâpi, and the place was probably once the seat of the Pallava King Sinhavishnu from whom the early Chalukyan Pulakeshin I wrested Badami about the middle of the sixth century. It is also very significant that some of the earliest Hindu temples have survived at Aihole and at Badami. The seed of Aryan thought which Agastya had sown must have been the beginning of the efflorescence of a full fledged Bramhinic culture with all the paraphernalia of temple worship. It is reasonable to expect that Agastya must have influenced and exploited the political powers of local chiefs in spreading the tenets of Bramhinical religion. He must have also founded assemblies or associations, or at best, disciples or representatives to carry on his missionary activities. In the form of legends and traditions, this is actually borne out by the evidence of inscriptions. He is reputed to be the spiritual preceptor, *Guru* or *Purohita* of more than one Southern Indian Prince and particularly of the Pandyan Princes. One example would suffice and can be taken as typical of his role as a *guru* to Southern India Princes. In the Sinnamanur Plate we read: "Hatâkhlârâti mahâpatinâm Himâchalâropita-Shâsanânâm purohuto-'bhûtavanîpatinâm yadudbhavânâm Bhagavân Agastyah." He became the preceptor of kings, and lower down in the same plate, King Sundara Pândya is referred to as "Agastya-shiṣya," disciple of Agastya. That he was associated with many

* Nacchinar Kinyar, the Tamil grammarian, describes a tradition relating to the migration of the Dravidian race, which is as follows: The sage Agastya repaired to Dwârakâ (*Tam.* Tuvara-pati) and taking with him eighteen kings of the line of Sri Krishna, eighteen families of Vels or Veliro and others moved to the South with the Aruvalar tribes. There he had all the forests cleared, and built up kingdoms settling therein all the people he had brought with him. One of the principalities thus founded by him was Dwârasamudram in the Mysore State (M. Srinivas Aiyangar, "Tamil Studies," 1914, p. 45).

† Mr. S. Aiyangar suggests: If Agastya, the mythical Rishi, actually lived, he must have lived before the fourth century B.C. ("Tamil Studies", p. 118).

other princes either as 'guru,' 'purohita' or spiritual adviser, there are many traditions and stories. We shall allude only to one typical incident in the Skandapurâna (Maheswara Khanda, Arunâchala Mâhâtmya) which associates him with another Pândya prince. It is said that Vajrângada—a Pandyan King—had desecrated a shrine on the Shona hill on the Sahya Parvata in the Drâvida country by riding on a horse to which reference will be made later. As an expiation for his effrontery he was advised by Agastya to offer his homage to the local Shiva lingam, 'Sonesvara'—to whom he dedicated all his wealth and earned the benediction of Agastya and his wife Lopâmudrâ. These individual stories may not be reliable—but they afford significant glimpses of the processes by which the whole of Southern India was gradually Aryanized and studded with innumerable Shaiva shrines—in all nooks and corners of the Drâvida-desh. He is supposed to be the first to introduce the worship of Shiva and the science of medicine among the Southern Indians. This could not have been accomplished by a lonely recluse single-handed and un-aided. He was, therefore, the progenitor of a large family and founded a long surviving generation of representatives—known as the 'Agastya gotra' many of whom still survive to this day. The Matsya Purâna (202, ch. 1-14) credits him with a long string of sons by name, Karambhi, Kausalya, Shakata, Sumedha, Mabhu, Gandharayana, Indravâhu, Dridhâshwa, the last two of whom he gave in adoption to Kratu and Pulaha. The career of some of the descendants of 'Agastya gotra' in some very startling, adventurous exploits, will be referred to presently.

As the so-called inventor of the Tamil language and the systematizer of the Dravidian alphabet and grammar, Agastya's name is still cherished by old Tamil Pandits, his grammar being known as "Agatthiam" (appertaining to Agastya). And he is also supposed to have been the President of the Tamil Sangam. He is also the reputed author of a treatise on image-making known as *Âgastiya Sakalâdhikâra*. He is supposed to have had twelve students and disciples, the principal of whom was Tolkapiyan. Besides many temples and shrines dedicated to him, his presence is actually associated with a sacred hill "Padigai," the Podhiya hill near Cape Comorin in the Tinnevely district, where he is supposed to remain for eternity invisible to mortal eyes. If this hill is haunted by his invisible presence, he shines in his new body as the brilliant star canopus in the Southern heaven. There is another interesting legend current about him which relates that in the course of his early missionary activities he would sometimes disappear from Southern India and nobody would see him for some time in that region to which he would, however, again return. We shall consider the significance of this story later on. But for the present it will be sufficient to remark that his perpetual presence

in the Podhiya hills may be taken as the symbol of his active role as the genius of the culture and civilization of the South. As one of the leaders of Bramhīnic thought and the preacher and preceptor of the Shaiva religion and, as such the 'guru' of many Southern Indian princes, he soon came to be regarded as the object of personal worship and a cult of Agastya was soon formulated and we have now many temples in which his image receives the honour of worship. The mode of his worship is laid down in the Skanda Purāṇa and in the Agni Purāṇa. His 'dhyāna' is thus formulated: "Kāsha-puṣpa pratikāsha, Agni-māruta sambhava, Mitrā-Varunoyor putra kumbhayaṇe namōstute. Ātāpirbhakshito yena vātāpischa mahāsuraḥ, samudra shoṣito yena so 'gastyah sammukho'stume." Translation: "Obeisance to thee, O Kumbhayoni (Pitcher-born) derived from Agnimāruta and son of Mitrā and Varuna, white as the *kāsha* flower. He who ate up Ātāpi and Vātāpi, He who drank off the sea, that same Agastya, I invoke thee." Of the many shrines devoted to his worship two are very well-known: one is the temple of Agastyeswara Swāmi at Narayanavanam (near the Railway station at Puttur) in the North Arcot District. But if he lives in the Malabar coast on the Podhiya hills in flesh and blood, he lives in a very æsthetic form at a shrine dedicated to his worship at Vedāranyam (Figs. 1 & 2)—the extreme South-eastern coast of Coromandel—very near the shores of the sea. Inside a temple at the place which is in itself not very old there are two images, one in stone and another in the metal, an *Utsava mūrti* (Figs. 3 & 4). Both are seated images and the sage is pictured in a figure with matted locks standing on his head, with flowing beard and a body rather corpulent at the stomach, a feature which is an important peculiarity for the iconographer. He carries in one hand the rosary and in another the Kamandalu, the ascetic's jar. In many later copper images of the sage, which are numerous, the same iconographic features are adhered to. A late eighteenth century or rather a nineteenth century copper image (Fig. 5) is not very happy in its decadent æsthetic expression but it strictly adheres to the iconographic conception of the image. One of the minor shrines at the back of the Brihadeswara temple contains a stone image of the sage of uncertain date. A very interesting image the writer was able to discover recently in a niche on the eastern gateway of the great Shiva temple at Chidambaram (Fig. 6). It may be taken to date about the twelfth century. The cult of Agastya is not a case of unique honour to this great Indian sage. Vashistha, another of the Rishis of Vedic fame, has a similar honour accorded to him by Bramhīnic practices. A cult of the worship of Vashistha has been alluded to in an inscription found in Nepal. But was the career of this adventurous missionary to be satisfied by a local deification and a local worship?

Fig. 1. Garvagriha
Vedāranyam Temple

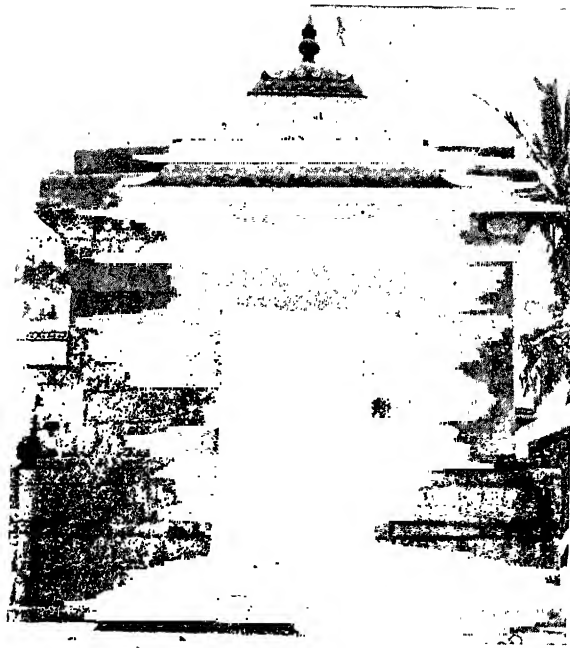
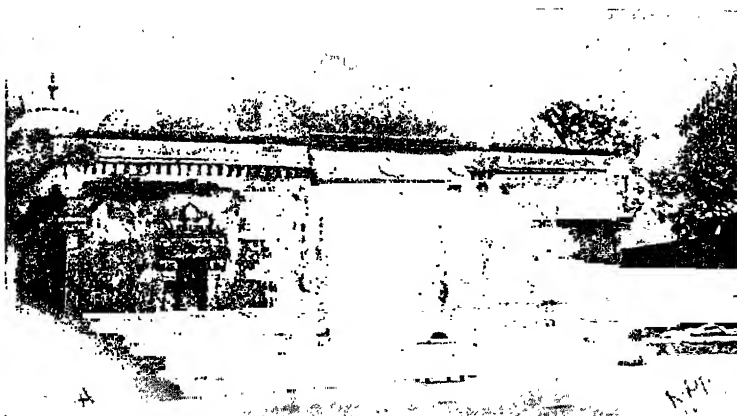


Fig. 3 Bronze Image of Agastya



Fig. 4. Stone Image of Agastya, Vedāranyam



Vedâranyam on the seashore marked, no doubt, the extreme limit of his exploits in Southern India. But was the Indian Ocean to retard the career of our intrepid Aryan adventurer? The dangers of the sea could not hold him back to the narrow limits of the Âryāvarta. He boldly braved the dangers of the sea and, by his psychic powers, he overpowered the sea-gods. In the language of myth and poetry, Agastya drank off the waters of the seas and earned a new appellation 'pîta-sâgara,' 'one who has drunk off the Ocean'. And one 'born in the pitcher' achieved the antithesis of the "Drinker of the Ocean".

Now let us follow the career of our sage across the seas. In the Indian continent he had a favourite hobby of building Shiva temples and of founding new branches of his family. In his activities in countries across the seas, we find him busy in his favourite pastimes. He was a devout worshipper of Shiva: "Shivârâdhanatatparah" and it is by founding Shaiva shrines that he signalized his presence in a distant colony. But where do we find him figuring in his oversea activity? He is supposed to have sojourned to the distant land of Cambodia. And our testimony is an interesting inscription at Ankor Vat in Cambodia (Kambu-desha). It is long and fragmentary at places. But we will quote a portion of it: "Âryadeshe sanutpannah Shivârâdhana-tatparah yo yogenâgatah Kambu deshe'smin * * * Sñi-Bhadreswara Shambhor yajanârtham samâyâtah chirakâlam tamabhyarchya prayajou padamaîswaram * * Dwijâgastya * * * Sidharsi * * * pîta-sâgarh" [Bergaigne: *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Champa et du Cambodge*, 1893, LXV, 48a-b, p. 380, (560)]. "That Brahmin Agastya, born in the land of the Aryans, devoted to the worship of Shiva, having come, by his psychic powers, in the land of the Cambodians for the purpose of worshipping the Shiva lingam known as Sñi Bhadreswara and having worshipped the God for a long time attained beatitude." But our sage did not confine his energies merely to the worship of Shiva. He also founded a local royal dynasty, apparently having married a local beauty of the name Yaśomatî. For, from another inscription in Cambodia (Mountain of Choeung Prey) dated Saka year 811 we learn that he was the ancestor of the famous King Yaśo-Varman: "Atha dwijo'gastya iti pratîto yo veda vedângavid Ârya-deshe lavdodayo yâ Mahisiddha vamshâ, Yaśomatîti prathita yashobhih sutastoyor yo yudhi durmmadah shrî Narendra Varmmeti Narendra-Vîrya, etc. . . ." [Bergaigne, *Ibid*, stele de Prah Bat, 355 (175)]. "The Bramhin famous as Agastya versed in the Vedas and who came from the land of the Aryans married Yaśomatî of the Mahisiddha family and begot a son who came to be known as Narendra Varma." This genealogy is also repeated in other inscriptions in Cambodia and must have been founded on some well-known tradition.

The stupendous and the magnificently schemed Shiva temples of Cambodia, if we are to believe the legends referred to in the inscriptions, were inspired by our sage from Southern India and were endowed and kept up by the royal bounties of a family of which our sage was the actual progenitor. It will be interesting to recall in this connection the fact that a number of Pancha-louha images of Southern Indian types have been actually found, if not in Cambodia, but in the neighbouring tract of Siam, the old Shyâmdeśa, another Aryan Colony, some of which actually carry Tamil inscriptions.* We will cite here a few examples (Figs. 7 & 8). It is obvious that these images are the actual handiwork of the Tamil 'Sthapatis' of Southern India and must have been carried to Siam or Cambodia from Southern India when the cult of Shiva formed a connecting link between the two distant countries and the communications and interchange of ideas must have begun from much earlier time when the missionary, whom we are following under the legendary name of Agastya, may have founded the first Aryan colony on the banks of the Mekong. And if these images from Southern India offer tangible evidence of an ancient oversea intercourse—an insignificant detail in the legend of the Skandapurâna to which we have referred to earlier—assumes very significant importance. The Pandyan Prince who defiled the shrine at the Shona hill rode on a Cambodian horse ("Kâmbuja haya"). The inter-communication between the two countries, therefore, assumes a plausible corroboration from this tiny little detail. Southern India, probably headed by the great missionary—the moving genius of the Indian colonization—was instrumental in Hinduizing the land of the Kambojas. It is not a question of influencing or inspiring a local colonial civilization but the transportation and transplantation of the main stem of culture with all its paraphernalia to a foreign country. The art and civilization of Cambodia and Siam formed an integral part of the art and civilization of the Indian continent. It is the extreme and the outlying frontiers of the civilization of Greater India stretching itself to the eastern shores. It is nevertheless the very limb of a large Indian continent—organically related to the main trunk.

But have we finished our survey of the activities of our great missionary in building up the culture of Greater India? The legends in the 'purânas' offer another clue to his activities in other lands. According to the Vâyupurâna (48 ch.), our hero is supposed to have paid visits to the following islands in the Indian Ocean—Barhina Dwîpa, (which may perhaps be

* Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de L'Indochine. Année 1908, pp. 229, 231 ; 1912, p. 160. See also "Migrations of Southern Indian Culture". By O. C. Gangoly, *Daily Express Annual*, Madras, 1925.



Fig. 7. Lakshmi (?)
Dharmarajapura, Ligor



Fig. 8. Nataraja, Dharmarajapura
Ligor, Siam



Fig. 6. Agastya, East Gopuram, Chidambaram



Fig. 5. Bronze Image
of Agastya, Nallur

Borneo), Kūsha Dwīpa, Varāha Dwīpa, Sankhya Dwīpa, which may be one or other of the Sunda islands—also to the Malaya Dwīpa and to Java. It is definitely stated that he used to live on a hill called 'Mahāmālaya Parvata' in Malaya Dwīpa perhaps as distinguished from the Malaya Parvata in Southern India.* Now there is an important mountain in Sumatra, still known as "Malayu". And it is significant to remember that the oldest Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago have survived in Sumatra and in Borneo. These inscriptions relate to Bramhinical worship—as distinguished from the Buddhist cult. The earlier form of Indian culture to go to the Archipelago, was the Hindu Bramhinical civilization, and the legends of Agastya's visit to the Sunda islands may be the glimpse of the voyage of this earlier Bramhinic culture which preceded and lay the grounds of the migration of later forms of Indian culture. For it is a very significant fact that all the vestiges and relics of Buddhist worship in the colony date much later than the early Hindu or Bramhinic emigration. According to the Chinese annals—the Hindu State of Champa on the shores of the Pacific was founded in 137 A.D., a suggestion which receives important confirmation by the earliest epigraphic records of Indo-China, in the rock inscriptions of Vo-can̄h (4 Kilometers from Nha-thrang). This inscription is ascribed to the third or perhaps the second century A.D. and refers to a king of the name of Śrīmāra. Two other inscriptions of Indo-China deserve mention in this connection, both attributed to about 400 A.D.,—one found at Cho'dinh and the other incised on a rock called Hon-cic, south-east of Tourane. The first refers to a sacrifice performed by or on behalf of one Dharma Mahārāja Bhadravarman. The rock inscription is an invocation to 'Lord Mahādeva Vādreswara Swāmin'. After these follow a string of inscriptions mostly dated, which all refer to the foundations, or restorations of, or donations to Shiva Temples. Of the footprints of early Bramhinic culture in the Archipelago a very important early epigraphic document offers a startling piece of evidence. It is the record of a Hindu Kshatriya king who performed a Vedic sacrifice in Borneo. It recalls the somewhat similar yūpa inscription on stone discovered at Isapura (near Muttra) dating about 102 A.D. Like the Isapura inscription those in Borneo are recorded on a stone yūpa—

* The text of Vāyupurāna runs as follows : "Tathaiva Malayadwīpa mevameva susamvritam | Maniratnākaram spītamākaram kanakasya cha. || 20. Tatra shrīmāngstu Malayah Parvato rajatākaraḥ | Mahāmālaya ityevam vikhyāto vara parvataḥ || 22. Nānā puspa phalopetam ramyam devarsi sevitam | Agastya-bhavanam tatra devāsura namaskritam " || 23. " Vāyupurāna " 48 ch. Translation : ' So is Malaya Dwīpa, pretty round in shape, the home of gems and jewels and the repository of gold. There stands the auspicious Malaya Mountain rich in silver,—famous as the "Mahāmālaya Hill"—full of all varieties of fruits and flowers and inhabited by divine sages—there stands the house of Agastya who is adored by gods as well as by demons.'

and run thus: "Cri Mûla-varmma râjendra Ystvâ bahusuvrnakam dwijendrais samprakalpita, tasya yajnasya yûp'o'yam." Translation: "The illustrious Mûlavarman, the Lord of Kings, who had performed a bahusuvrnaka sacrifice. For that sacrifice this sacred post has been erected by the chief amongst the twice-born." It comes from a place called Koetei in East Borneo and forms the earliest Sanskrit record of the Sunda islands. It has been ascribed to about 400 A.D. Incidentally it suggests that the culture which reached the Indian Archipelago was not only the Hinduism of later paurânic renaissance—but also the earlier culture of Vedic India. The last two lines are very significant: "tasya punyasya yûp'o'yam krito viprair ihâgatair,"—'for that deed of merit this sacrificial post has been made by the Bramhins (priests ?) who had come hither'. They might have come from India or from other parts of Borneo. The next epigraphic record in point of date is the remarkable footprint of a Hindu king in Western Java—the Tjaroeten rock inscription of Pûrna-varman—attributed to the middle of the fifth century. It is carved in very bold characters on a boulder lying in the river Charunten—in four lines above a pair of footprints of the king: "of the valiant lord of the earth, the illustrious Pûrna-varman, who is the ruler of the Town of Taruma, this is the pair of footprints like unto Vishnu's." ('Vikrântasyâvanîpateh Shrimatah Pûrnavarmanah Târumana Narendrasya Vishnoriva Padadwayam'). Now all these three records in the Indian colonies are Bramhinical and not Buddhistic. They support the very obvious and reasonable conclusion that the earliest strata of Indian culture in the colonies is Bramhinical and not Buddhistic—and of the Bramhinical culture two distinct layers may be traced, *viz.*, the vedic and the pauranic. We have seen that the earliest temple on the shores of the Pacific was a Shiva temple—the earliest memory of an Indian temple in Java is likewise a Shiva temple. In a Sanskrit inscription, dated 654 Saka (A.D. 732) discovered in Tjanggal, South Kedoe, we find reference to a King named Sanjaya who settled in Central Java. There is a reference to a miraculous temple of Shiva, which was transferred from the clan which was living in the blessed land of Kunjara Kunja (or Kunjarakona ?). The passage of the text in the inscription runs as follows:—

"Âsîd dvîpavaram Yavâkhyam atuladhânyâdi vîjâdhikam sampannam Kanakâkarais tadamarai (——) dinopârgitam Crimat Kunjara Kunja decanîhitavancâd itivadhrtam sthânam divyatamam Civâya Jagatas Cambhostu Yatrâdbhutam." "There was the best of islands, Java by name, the incomparable store-house of grains and paddy and adorned with gold mines. There on that island exists a very beautiful (heavenly) and miraculous sanctuary of Shiva—whose object is to procure the happiness of the world,

and it has been transferred from the clan which was living in the blessed land of Kunjara Kunja-desha, as it is called." There are sufficient reasons to believe that this mysterious place known as Kunjara Kunja—(or Kunjara dari or simply Kunjara)—was a sacred place in Southern India. In some of the later inscriptions of Vijayanagara period (thirteenth century), we meet with the name of Kunjara kona—as a Sanskrit translation of the Kannada name 'Ane-gandi'—a place north of the modern Hampi on the opposite bank of the river Tungā-bhadrā. But this place must have been a very ancient site and carries us to a mythical period. And now who could have lived on this picturesque hill on the bank of the Tungā-bhadrā. A verse in one of the purānas provides a significant answer. In Harivaṁśa (stanzas 12339-12345), we come upon a very startling stanza which states: "Kunjara parvataḥ chaiva yatrāgastyagrihaṁ shubham" 'Kunjara hill, where stood the auspicious home of Agastya.' This Kunjara kona or Kunjara hill was one of the haunts of Agastya who had erected there a temple, probably a Shiva temple. And if we consider our inscription in Java, of king Sanjaya, we are driven to the conclusion that a clan from the 'Kunjara kona desha' migrated to Java and there built a temple on the model of the original temple of Agastya on the banks of the Tungā-bhadrā.

According to Dr. Kern's reading of the inscription—"The sanctuary of Shiva at Kunjara dari (Kunjara kona) was the prototype of the first temple in Java." The first Hindu temple of Java is therefore associated with the family of Agastya. But another inscription goes a step further. It actually states that a Shiva temple was actually built by Agastya in Java. In the words of the inscription: "Vihite kalasajanāmnā bhadrā-lokāhvaye vivudha-gehe tasyātha putra-poutrāḥ bhavantu lavdhestha-padā jivāḥ." "Kalasaja or Agastya having founded the god's house called 'Vadrāloka,' may all his descendants obtain in this house a resting place, may they achieve their wishes" ("Het Sanskrit Op Een en Steen, Prambanam" door H. Kern, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde, Deel XX, 1873, p. 223). We have, therefore, a clear indication that some descendants of Agastya—a Bramhin clan of the Agastya gotra—evidently of Shaivaitic beliefs—had a colony in Java. As we know from the first inscription, they must have come from Southern India, which has had so many landmarks of his activities. That Agastya had founded an important branch or clan of early Vedic Bramhins is indicated in the Âsvalāyana Grihyasūtra where amongst forty-nine Bramhin gotras, Agastya gotra is actually mentioned.

In Southern India, as in Java, Agastya must have been a 'culture hero', if not an *heros eponymos* of Bramhinitic civilization. In a Tamil inscription, dated 1524, we find the name of a founder of a Shiva temple, Ailāpabatta

on the Tungā-bhadra, who calls himself a descendant of the great hero Agastya ('Asiatic Researches,' III, p. 49). Mamulanar, one of the reputed Sangam poets, claims to belong to the Agastya gotra. The epigraphic records of Java somewhat similarly ring with the echo of the name and fame of our mythical sage. In Java, he not only figures as the founder of families and the builder of temples but as an icon of worship, the subject of a cult, as we have seen him, in the Indian continent. His image was actually worshipped—first in sandalwood and next in stone. His name is actually used to this day in all oath formulas, in Java and Bali—and translated in the Polynesian dialect, Agastya is known as "Valaing"—the star canopus in the Southern Sea, and the oath formula sometimes mentions the Sanskrit name and sometimes the Malayan equivalent, e.g., (1) "Yāvatkhe ravi-cacinau yāvad dhātri (? dharitri) chatus-samudrāvrita yāvad daci-dici-vāyus tāvad bhaktir valaing nāmna." Translation: 'so long as the sun and the moon last in the heavens, so long as the earth remains girt by the four seas, so long as the wind runs to the ten quarters, so long will reverence last to the name of Valaing.' (Tijdschrift voor Indisch Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde, Deel XX, 1873, pp. 89-117.) (2) A record in old Kawi runs as follows:—'Ommindah takita karnung hyang Harichandana Agastyi Maharshi'—Hail to you, Great Rishi of yellow sandalwood. ("Old Javanese Oath formula in use in Bali" by H. Kern, Essays Vol. 6, p. 293.) The qualification "harichandana" for Agastya is very significant, for it appears that the earlier images of this godling was of yellow sandalwood as is proved by a very interesting inscription, dated 628 Caka (A.D. 760) found at Dinaya, Maleng in Eastern Java. It refers to an unknown king, who in place of an old sandalwood image—which was worn out and effete—caused a new image of Agastya to be made in "wonderful black stone". The inscription runs as follows:—"Purvvaiah kritām tu sura-dārumayīm samīksya kīrttipriyah talagatapratimām manasvī ājnāpya cilpinām aram sah dirghadarcci* krisnādbhuto palamayīm nripatih cakāra, rājnāgastya cakābde nayana-vasurase mārggacirse camāse ārdrarthe cukravāre pratipadadivase paksa-sandhau dhruve rittigbhih vedavidbhih yativara sahitaiah sthāpakādyaiah samaumaiah karmajnaiah kumbhalagne sudrdha matimatā sthāpitah kumbha-yonih." Translation: 'When the learned and ambitious king saw the image which was made by the ancestors, from sandalwood which fell to the earth, he immediately ordered a sculptor to make an image of wonderful black stone with a view to the future. In the Caka year 682 in the month of Mārgasirsa on Friday the first day of the new half moon at the union of the dark light moon, the king ordered (the image) Agastya, Kumbha-Yoni to

* ? "Sah adirghadarcci" = "So 'dirghadarcci."

be installed with the help of priests, officials, men learned in the Vedas, ascetics, and hermits.'

We have now proved to demonstration that the worship of Agastya was an established cult in Java long before the seventh century and it must have come from South India. It would not be unreasonable to expect to meet with some survivals of the images of this popular godling. We have already considered some images of this sage on the soil of India itself and we look forward to a repetition of the same form of icons in the great Indian Island Colony. And what do we meet with, there, in our searches on the footprints of Agastya—a string of images of this sage actually reproducing with minor variations the original image as met with in India. More than a score of such images have been found in Java, but it will be enough for us to consider a few typical examples. Who can fail to recognize in the 'jatāmukuta' the matted locks, the corpulent waist and the pitcher and the 'akhsa-mālā' (rosary) in the hands of this image, the portrait of our great Indian sage? (Fig. 9.) He was a special devotee of Shiva, one time, a faithful worshipper of Shiva at Benares, whose memory still lives in the Agastyeswara Shiva in the well-known shrine of Agastya Kunda, still a famous locality in modern Benares; the trident is, therefore, a very necessary insignia, or 'lakshana' of this great yogi. By his devotion to Shiva he seems to have attained *swārūpya* or 'same-form' as Shiva himself and stands in the majesty of his figure, the very picture of the great Mahā-yogi, the ascetic *par excellence* of the Indian 'purānas'. It might seem that the requirements of its iconographic conception do not lend themselves happily to much artistic treatment, but to skilful craftsmanship and the creative imagination of the Indian artist, the most fantastic imposition of the Bramhin iconographer has never handicapped the formulation of wonderful æsthetic forms, and the portrait of Agastya has been no exception. We have deliberately chosen for our first picture a later and a decadent example only to emphasize the beauty, the conviction and the dignity of some of the best portraits of this sage which grace the glorious pantheon which we owe to the Hindu sculptors in Java.*

In our next example (Fig. 10) hailing from one of the inner chambers of Tjandi Lora Djongrong group at Prambanam we have a finer conception. The sage stands with half-open eyes with his rosary held near his breast, the characteristic and inevitable Indian attitude, while the other hand holds the "Kamandalu" (the pitcher), broken in the example. Across the breast runs

* The two small figures on either side of the main figure represent two more ascetics, as evidenced by their matted locks, and they are posed in an attitude of adoration to the guru. Most probably they represent two of his disciples—Trinavindu and Marichi.

the *yogupatta* and garland of *rudrāksha*. The crown of matted locks is disposed in the form of a 'karanda-mukuta' so familiar in Southern Indian images and the dress with its 'kati-vandha' and 'urumalai' and the ends of the 'dhoti,' arranged in rhythmic folds, follow all the formulas and the rules of many Southern Indian and Ceylonese images. It is, in short, in the conventional language of Southern Indian Plastic Art.

The name under which these images are popularly known in Java, and still adhered to by scholars and antiquarians, is 'Shivaguru,' 'Bhattāraka Guru', or vulgarly, "Bhatāra Guru" (lit., reverend preceptor). Whatever be the popular name of this icon, we may claim, we have been able to prove to our readers' satisfaction that this image is the portrait of Agastya, the Great Indian sage, and it is our privilege to say, the great South Indian Rishi, the genius of our culture, and, to borrow the word of Finot, "L'Indoisateur", *i.e.*, the Hindouiser of the Colonies.

We may explain in various ways the Javanese appellation 'Shiva guru'. As the preacher of the cult of Shiva, he may be very fitly described as the 'Guru' of the Shaiva cult. 'Bhattāraka' is an appellation peculiarly applied to kings and other respected personages.* In his role as the spiritual preceptor of many kings, he may have come to be known as "Bhattāraka Guru" or as the respected 'guru' himself. We do not claim that our explanation of this appellation is satisfactory, but we can claim to recognize under this Javanese appellation our old friend, philosopher and guide, Kalasaja, Kumbhayoni, Sarvvajna, mitrā-varuna-putra, the great sage Agastya. In the Javanese title we may trace an attempt to regard him as the *heros eponymos* of Indo-Javanese culture. Of the numerous portraits of our sage there is none to beat the dignity, the equanimity, simplicity and the introspective placidity of the remarkably fine image discovered in Tjandi Banon, South Kedoe, (Frontispiece) on the Progo river (East Java). It belongs to the classic period of Indo-Javanese sculpture (9th to the 10 century A.D.) and while it faithfully follows the formula of the icon, it equals, if it does not rival, the sweet serenity and the profundity of the series of Buddha images of Borobuddur. Before such conceptions the immortal line of Kālidāsa ascends involuntarily to one's lips—"nirvāta niskampa iva pradīpam",—"motionless and steadfast like a lamp undisturbed by wind". The whole genius and substance of Bramhinic thought crystallize in this unique figure of a great yogi pictured in the sea-girt inaccessibility of the island Colony. And art honours the myth of the 'purānas' by creating a

* In old Javanse inscriptions 'bhattara' is frequently applied to a god, *i.e.*, 'bhatāra i crī Baprakecvara' "ye gods at Baprakecvara" 'kapujan bhatāra i Monkucecvāra' *i.e.*, adoration to gods at Monkucecvāra.



Fig. 9. Tjandi, Redjo Java



Fig. 10. Tjandi Loro Djonggrang



Fig. 11. Leiden Museum

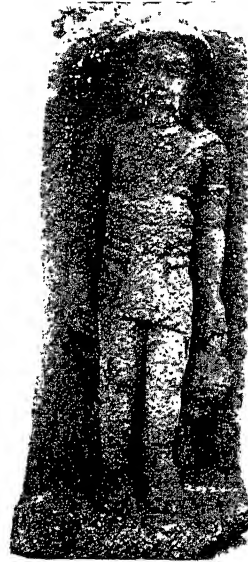


Fig. 12. Leiden Museum



Fig. 13. Leiden Museum

SHIVA-GURU IMAGES FROM JAVA

(See back)



Fig. 14. Leiden Museum



Fig.15. Leiden Museum



Fig. 16. Leiden Museum



Fig.17. Leiden Museum

SHIVA-GURU IMAGES FROM JAVA

portrait of one, who, we are tempted to believe (as the tradition still says), lived in flesh and blood and has left his footprints on all parts of 'Āryadeśa' (India) as also on that Island-India—the rich repository of Aryan culture, a veritable jewel in the Indian Ocean:—"Dwīpabaram yavākhyam atula dhānyādi vijādhikam kanakākaraī sampannam."

It is somewhat disagreeable and offensive to one's æsthetic sense to turn from this magnificent incarnation of the Mahāyogi to later and decadent examples and the poorly conceived native Javanese versions. We only wish to refer to the less happy examples only to give an idea of the popularity of this image and of the numerous examples that have been discovered* and of the identity of the iconographic type. Let us proceed with the later and most decadent type and take the earlier and better types in a progressive procession. In the somewhat lean and attenuated forms of Figs. 11 & 12, the iconographic features are not emphatic and they are not easy to recognize, but the 'jatā,' 'kamandalu' and the rosary are very sure indications. In some of the examples, the Kamandalu is in the wrong hand. In the fifth (Fig. 13) we get back to the more accurate forms of the earlier types. In the seventh and eighth examples, (Figs. 15 & 16) the rosary and Kamandalu have changed places. In the sixth one (Fig. 14) the right hand carries a lotus instead of the rosary. In the same specimen we miss the long beard which is an indispensable feature of the image. In the last example of the series in stone, (Fig. 17) we recover all the peculiarities of the original conception. We will close our survey of this gallery of 'Shiva-guru' images by considering two examples in metal. We will first consider a very late and perhaps a modern image devoid of any beauty or craftsmanship (Fig. 18). It will offer a parallel to the seated image of the sage as we have seen in the Vedāranyam shrine. Our last example (Fig. 19) is a fine standing image in bronze—and is better than all the ten examples we have just considered though lagging far behind the dignity and grace of the stone image from Chandi Bannan. The last named is not only the finest example of a Shiva-guru image yet discovered but is undoubtedly a *chef-d'œuvre* of Indo-Javanese sculpture. It is useful to notice the two most characteristic peculiarities of this image, the corpulent stomach and the beard. The learned Dutch archæologists, misled by the insignia of the 'Trishūla,' and the name 'Shiva-guru,' have all unanimously taken this to be an image of Shiva. Dr. Vogel, the latest writer, has remarked: "Shiva was worshipped in Java under different forms, but preferably as 'Bhatāra guru'. He is there represented as a Bramhinal ascetic, bearded and corpulent, carrying a rosary and waterpot. This form appears

* As many as 13 examples are in the Leiden Museum and 17 in the Museum at Batavia.

to be peculiar to the Hinduism of the Archipelago." (See p. 68, *The Influences of Indian Art: 'Relation between the Art of India and Java.'*) Now, it is a recognized canon throughout the whole history of Shaivaite iconography, both in India and in the Colonies, never to represent the image of Shiva with a beard, or a corpulent body. The Southern Indian images amply prove this. But it will be more instructive to correct this misconception by studying a "Javanese" example of Shiva. We reproduce here a typical example from the Leiden Museum (Fig. 20). As will be apparent the broad chests contrast with the thinner waist, and the absence of the beard is particularly striking. It must be noted, however, that in Indian iconography Shiva is sometimes alluded to as "Guru," the preceptor of the gods, and in the sculptors' handbook we have verses describing the "Guru-mûrti-dhyânam". And in the *Kâshyapîya*, *anshu-mâna-veda Kalpa* (Madras Oriental Library MSS.), the "Gurumûrthi" is pictured as a four-handed deity with a rosary in one hand, the snake in the other, and the other hands indicating the *jñâna-mudrâ*, the symbol of knowledge.* Thus the Shiva image is never pictured with a corpulent waist. On the other hand, by a long recognized convention, not easy to explain, the 'rishis' or the sages are pictured in terms of a corpulent body. Very instructive Javanese examples are the fragments of rishi figures from Jog jakarta (Plate 20, 1 and 2, *Rapporten, Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indie*, 1902). The name 'Shiva guru' may perhaps be explained as meaning a teacher or preacher or initiator of the Shaiva religion, a role which Agastya has eminently played in the course of his long career in India, as in the Colonies.

Any sketch, however meagre, of the career of Agastya will be incomplete without a reference to his disciple, associate and certainly, his collaborator, in his stupendous task of spreading Aryan culture in non-Aryan countries. His association with this collaborator lends a realistic colour to his mythic personality and adds to the probabilities of the incidents of the career of Agastya. This associate was another remarkable personality, perhaps of equal rank and ability as Agastya himself, for in some phases of their life they became rivals, if not open antagonists. The name of this associate is another Rishi—Bhagawân Triṇa-vindu. Many mythic halos also transfigure his personality. According to one account he was the son of Budha of the race of Marut Chakravarti. He commenced a 'Yagna' (sacrifice) which led the Devas to seduce him through a nymph.

* "Sphatika-sadrissha-varnam mouktikairakhsa mālā, amṛita-kalasa-hastam jñâna mudrām karāgre | dadhatamuraga hastam Chandra-chûra trinetrām, Pranavamamara mûrtim Dakshinâ mûrti mîde ||"—Guru-mûrti-dhyânam, *Kâsyapîyam*, Madras Oriental Library MSS.



Fig. 19. Bronze' Shiva Guru
Leiden Museum



Fig. 18. Bronze Siva Guru
Leiden Museum



Fig. 21. Maharshi Trinavindu
Batavia Museum



Fig. 20. Shiva
Leiden Museum

According to another legend he was the son of the Aryan sage Jama-dagni.* He was a Shaivaite as he is supposed to have been cured of leprosy by Shiva himself, who appeared to him in a pitcher. He was probably initiated by Agastya whom he regarded as his 'guru' and leader and he was brought by Agastya when he came to the South. He came to be known in Southern India as Trina-Dhumâgni and under the Tamil name of Tolkappiyar. He apparently helped Agastya in his systematizing of the Tamil grammar—and the grammar composed by Trina-vindu—known as *Tolkappiyam* is supposed to be the earliest Tamil book extant. A very dramatic story is told of his relationship with his compatriot Agastya. The great sage had commanded Trina-vindu to go and fetch Lopāmudrâ, Agastya's wife, from somewhere in the North. The direction given was that Trina-vindu should not approach too near Lopāmudrâ and that there should be between them a space of the length of a measuring pole. Unfortunately while crossing the river Vaigai, she got beyond her depth and was about to be carried away in the current and appealed to Trina-vindu for help. Forgetting his preceptor's injunction, Trina-vindu very gallantly caught hold of her hand and rescued her from a watery grave. Agastya, when told of this incident, thought there was a violation of his directions and he cursed Trina-vindu that the gates of Heaven should be closed against him. His disciple protested that under the circumstances his preceptor's curse was unfair and unreasonable—and he also cursed in return that the gates of Heaven should be closed to Agastya. Thus a rivalry and an enmity sprang up between the preceptor and his disciple and in consequence Agastya went to the length of asking the literary censor to find fault with his grammar '*Tolkappiyam*'. But *Tolkappiyam* was far and away the best production and the censor certified it to be 'without blemishes'. Trina-vindu had three sons, Visalan, Sunya-bandu and Tumbra-ketu, and one daughter named Ilipilai. He was the father-in-law of Kasyapa and maternal uncle to Pulastya. If these legendary stories of the association of Trina-vindu with Agastya has any authenticity, we may demand that his disciple and collaborator should also figure in Agastya's career in Java. And the monuments of Java very generously meet our demand. We do indeed find the two Indian Patriarchs in close association. If Agastya has chosen to camouflage his identity—in the deified form of the mysterious 'Shiva guru', Bhagavân Trina-vindu figures under his own proper name and there is no question of his identity. We have many of his portraits in stone in one of which his name is inscribed in Nâgari characters :—'Bhagavân Trina-vindu Maharshi'. The monuments of Java furnish the name of another sage,

* In the Vâyupurâna and the Devî-bhâgavata he is spoken of as the twenty-third Vyâsa of Dwâpara-yuga.

probably to be associated with Agastya, this is Marichi, and a mutilated image of this sage—with a Nāgari inscription, has been found.

Having rendered our respects to the memory of the great Aryan Patriarch with his two worthy associates whom we have endeavoured to rescue from the mythical airiness of pauranic imagination and to visualize with the help of the sculptors, the misty personality of the sage in terms of a plastic actualization, we shall proceed to consider the significance of the data furnished by the cult of Agastya which was transplanted to Java from the Indian continent. The surviving remains in the Dieng plateau in Central Java represent the oldest relics of the Hindu Bramhinic settlement in that island. The monumental remains of this old Hindu site are very fragmentary and practically no temples have survived in this area—although various stone images of Ganesha and Durgā have been recovered. It is believed that the earliest temple of Shiva which is referred to in the inscription of Sanjaya after the prototype of Agastya's temple in South India must have been erected in some part of the Dieng plateau. The data of the inscription furnish sufficient materials for the conclusion that a replica of an early Southern Indian Saivaite temple was erected in Java by the descendants of our mythical hero, some members of the Agastya gotra, if not by Agastya himself (vihite kalasaja nāmna). In the next group of Hindu remains, those at Prambanam, we meet with a cluster of Shaiva temples in which have survived not only many lingams but some remarkably fine statues of Shiva, Vishnu, Brahmā and the Trimūrti image. In many details they recall the style and iconography of Southern Indian images of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. At least in one small bronze image of Shiva and Pārvati [*vide* Plate II: O. C. Gangoly: "South Indian Bronzes"] we may undoubtedly trace the evidence of an actual transport of a South Indian icon of the Umā-maheswara type. But, generally speaking, the Hindu-Javanese pantheon does not reflect the later elaboration of the South Indian pantheon. Both in the state of their iconographic development and their simple and dignified types they are related to the early Southern Indian sculptures or Pallava or early Chalukyan style of the eastern school. The images of Durgā certainly recall, in its iconographic scheme, similar images on the Pallava temples. Yet it is not closely related to the art of the Pallava, though they certainly bear significant affinities. The comparative features of architecture of the Dieng plateau (Chandi, Bhima, Arjuna, etc., *Rūpan* No. 17, pl. 5, 16,) and of the Pallava temples are somewhat similar—*i.e.*, significant affinities with significant divergences. The one is not an exact replica or reproduction of the other. There could be no doubt that they belong to the same stock, and their plans and structural designs are almost identical. The parallelism of the epigraphic data

tells the same story. Dr. Vogel in the course of an illuminating discussion in comparing the so-called Vengi type of the early Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago (which he has happily re-named as Pallava Script) with their Indian prototype, has come to a very significant conclusion.* "Among the epigraphical records of Southern India, we cannot point to any specimen which exhibits exactly the same style of writing as is found in the earliest inscriptions of the Archipelago. But among Southern alphabets it is undoubtedly the archaic type of the ancient Grantha character (to retain Bühler's terminology) used by the early Pallava rulers of the Coromandel Coast which appears to be most closely related to the character of the Koetie epigraphs" (earliest Sanskrit inscription in the Archipelago—if we except the inscription of Bhadra-varman which represents a slightly earlier stage), "we may say that the Koetie inscription, as it were, exhibits the prototype of that style of writing, which we find employed in the Pallava stone inscriptions of the seventh century of which the cave inscriptions of Mahendra-Varman I stand foremost as regards age."† Dr. Vogel by his excellent study has shown how the study of the Pallava inscriptions of the Coromandel Coast is important for the right understanding of the beginnings of the Hindu civilization in the Archipelago. The Koetie epigraphs—in fact fill up a lacunæ in the continuity of the epigraphic history of Southern India. It does not actually repeat the epigraphic style of India, but seems to represent an earlier phase of the Pallava alphabet. The architectural data of the Dieng plateau exactly reproduce the same relationship to the architectural history of the Indian continent. It is not a repetition of Pallava architecture, but an earlier phase of which no remains are available on the Indian soil itself. The iconographic remains of the Dieng plateau confirm a similar class of evidence. The simple iconology of the earliest Hindu images of Java represent a period earlier than that of the Pallavas. If we except the upper part and the finals, the Tjandi Arojoena, with the plans of its upapîtha, adhishthâna and the stambha with the niches—as also the steps leading to the entrance—bear remarkable affinity to some of the temples at the Seven Pagodas. The relationship—the similarity and the divergence—is much the same as in the position of the Pallava and the Indonesian epigraphs. While in the case of the Koetie epigraphs, Dr. Vogel is not prepared to postulate

* This was also suggested by Dr. Burnell: "Now if the character used in Western Java inscriptions be compared with that of the Vengi and Pallava inscriptions, it will at once be seen that it is nearest to the last. For these reasons it appears to me that the source of the primitive Hindu civilization in Java must be sought for in the North Tamil Coast rather than in Kalinga proper."—"Elements of South Indian Palæography", p. 132.

† Vogel: "The Yûpa inscriptions of King Mûla-Varman" *Bijdragen Tot de Taal—Land-en Volkenkunde*, Deel 74, 1918, pp. 230-32.

a local native Javanese hand in shaping the Indo-Javanese epigraphy—but is anxious to relate it to the continental stem—with all the ingenuity of his palæographic learning, but in examining the significance of the æsthetic scripts—the language of architecture and plastics—he is unwilling to correlate the æsthetic styles to the languages of the mainland. Following Dr. Krom and Dr. Bosch, he demands from the architectural and sculptural records similarity and identity of forms which he does not and cannot demand from the epigraphic records. “If indeed, Indian artists had come over to Java to carve these images they would undoubtedly have produced works of art similar to those which in their days were in vogue on the Indian continent. This is by no means the case.”* On a similar argument, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Koetie, not reproducing, in anything like exact similarity, the Vengi or early Pallava alphabet, must be taken to be the handiwork of local Javanese genius—developing a script independent of Indian help. In the conclusion drawn as to the nature of Indo-Javanese sculpture and architecture, these learned archæologists are ignoring some of the evidences and misreading others. The style and iconography of the standing images of Shiva, Vishnu and the Trimûrthi, surviving at Prambanam, practically recall in its main features the style of the Southern Indian school with all details of ornaments, style of dress, and facial type and coronets almost accurately reproduced. It is impossible to claim any Javanese contribution from the hand of native local genius. In exaggerating the decorative quality of the design on the back of the Ganesha from Bara, Dr. Vogel omits to notice the ugly distortion of the æsthetic logic of the best types of the purely Indian conception of Ganesha (*vide* Havell, “Ideals of Indian Art,” Plate X) of which beautiful examples belong to the classic period of Indo-Javanese Art. None can for a moment deny the startling decorative genius of Polynesian art of which the local Javanese artists have given ample evidence. But, it is impossible to attribute to local talent the vigorous plastic quality of

* Dr. Bosch's objection to the possibility of Indian craftsmen having visited or settled in Java in large numbers without recording any marks on the local language is completely met by the valuable data furnished by Dr. Kern in his article “Dravidische Volksnamen op Sumatra” (*Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. III, p. 67) from which it is clear that a tribe called Simbirins settled round Lake Toba in West Sumatra, is sub-divided into three classes—known by the names of Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Depari and Pelawi—in which Professor Kern recognizes the well-known ethnic names from the Dravida or Tamil country. Dr. Kern remarks that a section of the Shimbirins consists of descendants of the abovenamed nations in Southern India and the peculiarity of their manners and customs also support the conclusion that they are the survivals of emigrated nations from Dravida lands. Dr. Kern also suggests that it has been proved from Javanese records that amongst the servants of Javanese nobleman there were people from Southern India, also from other foreign countries. So that the presence of a number of South Indian artists (sculptors or architects) in Java may be taken as fairly proved.

the Indian images of the classic period in Java. When "the Javanese architects and sculptors depart from the examples set by their Hindu teachers and freely follow their own genius", it is clear, that, however interesting, from the decorative standard (e.g., in the Ganesha from Bara, the Wayang figures, and the local images illustrated in Dr. Bosch's paper "Hypothesis on the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art," "Rûpam," No. 17, 6-41), from the plastic and iconographic point of view, and generally from the standards of Indian Art, the result is certainly deplorable. In such cases, it would be more correct to characterize the transformation as a degeneration into, rather than an evolution developing, an Indonesian type. For, the Indian ideal is not improved but dishonoured in the figures of the Wayang types, though undoubtedly, the Wayang types have an unique quality of their own—the primitive quality of Polynesian Art. But in the cross-breeds of the type of the Ganesha from Bara, neither of the two forms of art are seen at their best. It is certainly a misnomer to refer to such figures as "Indian," just as it is a misnomer to call the sculptures of Prambanam "Javanese".

If one studies and analyzes in detail the images of Shiva, Vishnu, Brahmâ and Prajñâpârmitâ (from Singasari) every element in the plastic language—the ornaments, the pose, the mudrâs, the âsana, the lotus seat, and the scroll ornamentations on the aureole at the back are derived from the vocabulary of Indian sculpture. Indeed, in the whole repertoire of sculptural forms in Java, there is hardly any motive or element which is not derived from Indian sources.*

Of the leading motifs said to be peculiarly characteristic of "Javanese Art", we have demonstrated already ("Rûpam," No. 1, January 1920, p. 11) that the so-called 'Kâla-makara' ornament of Javanese invention is the descendant of the old Indian Kîrtimukha which can be traced as far back as the fourth or fifth century. The 'Makara torana' is similarly borrowed from India. We should like to add here that the temple watchers of Java are likewise derived from the various types of 'dwârapâlas' of Southern Indian temples and the râkshasa types (e.g., those from Chandisevu) are clearly descended from the *gana* figures which frequently occur in early Hindu temples.

To revert to the story of the cult of Agastya and the part that he may have played in the development of Indian civilization in Java, a very significant fact emerges with regard to the position of the worship of the image of Agastya in Java under the eponymous title of 'Bhatâra guru'. It is

* We have already considered this aspect of the controversy in our article "The Art of Champâ" ("Rûpam," Nos. 15 and 16, July—December 1923) and in our notes "On the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art" ("Rûpam," No. 17, January 1924, p. 54).

supposed, evidently, on good grounds, that the status and character of the present Hindu colony at Bali (which must have come from Java after the fall of Majhapahit in the fifteenth century, if not earlier), represent a very plausible picture, a replica, of the state and condition of the Hindu-Bramhmic settlement in Java. In 1817, Sir Stamford Raffles on making enquiries as to the ranks of the different deities worshipped in Bali, found out that the Hindu Balinese replied at once:—The first is Bhatāra Guru, the second Bhatāra Bramhā, the third Bhatāra Wishnu, the fourth Bhatāra Sewa. The deity Mahādeva is known and mentioned in the religious books but is not an object of worship.* *Bhatāra guru is considered as the highest object of worship* below the divinity Sang Yang Tung'gal† (i.e., the Lord who is one, evidently the Nirguna Bramha). So that we have the startling fact that the highest position in the Hindu pantheon of the Sunda Islands is given to the great South Indian sage and the familiar Hindu trinity occupies a place next to him. Agastya is then the god *par excellence* of Java and Bali. To what, may we ask, our great sage occupies this position of honour? He must have played a very active part in the religious development of the Javanese and must have stood in very intimate and actual relationship to the Indianization of Javanese culture. We wish we could support this by very authentic and convincing evidence. But of the materials that we derive from some of the legends purporting to record the early history of Java much of it is unreliable and wild fiction, but probably an element of truth is covered by many imaginary fables. From the collections of these local legends of Java, it appears that numerous families and princes were sent one after another in successive waves from Kalinga to Java. After reciting the murder of a Hindu king in Java which put an end to his dynasty, the local chronicle records that, after this, Bhatāra Guru sent a person of the name of Gutaka from mountain Sawila achala (can it be Sahyā-chala?) in Kling to be sovereign of the province Giling Vesi, a country lying at the foot of mount Sumeru, the highest mountain in Java. If there be an atom of truth in this tradition, we find that Agastya took an active part in colonizing and organizing the political government of Java by sending out Hindu princes from the continent. Once again, another significant piece of information is furnished by the same local chronicle. It is related that a mythical king named Aji Jaya Baya (which may be a Javanese rendering of Jaya Vahu) dictated the poem Brata yuddha (i.e., the epic poem Mahābhārata) “by order of Dewa Bhatāra Guru”. Our sage, if we can believe this piece of information as authentic, then, paid visits

* This is somewhat discounted by the Shiva temples and images found at Prambanam.

† Raffles' History of Java, Vol. II, Appendix K, ccxxxix.

to Java,* and he was in fact the transmitter and dictator of the great Indian culture *saga*, which, later, became the national epic of Java, for the Javanese still believe that the actions of the Mahābhārata actually happened, and the great actors actually lived, in the island of Java. This amounts to a complete affiliation and identification of Javanese culture with the sources of Indian civilization. It is in fact a complete over-running and Aryanization of indigenous Javanese culture. And the moving spirit and the genius of this great achievement, if we can believe these evidences, was the pitcher-born sage from South India. The highest rank given to him in Indo-Javanese hierarchy of gods seems to support the conclusions to which these pieces of evidences put together inevitably lead us that in him we may recognize not only the Aryanizer of the Drāvīda Desha but, also, as the titanic Architect—the Great Builder of a Greater India beyond the seas.

* The fables of the Vāyupurāṇa regarding Agastya's visit to Borneo, Java and Malaya dwīpa (Sumatra) therefore, gain some credence. And the legend of the periodic absence of the sage from South India, when nobody would see him for some time may be explained by his periodic visits, shall we say, tours of inspection in the islands of the Indian Archipelago. And if we remember the somewhat significant fact that sandalwood grows very luxuriantly in Sumatra, a passage in the prayer to Agastya in the cult-worship suddenly acquires a new significance. The cult enjoins that the sage should be propitiated by the present of sandalwood—not of local product, but of the variety *imported* from distant islands (Agnipurāṇa, Ch. 206, verse 8: "Dwīpāntara samutpannam devānām paramam priyam | Rājānām sarva-Vrikhsānām chandanam pratigrihyatām"). Of all Aryan sages—he must have developed a particular taste for the amenities of colonial products.

GANDARADITYA—A SAINT KING.

BY S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR.

SCHOLARS interested in the construction of South Indian History have to suffer from many difficulties. There are no regular records of the happenings of the time and they have to depend on the inscriptions, Epigraphist's Reports and literary works, if any. Many a reign of the Chola dynasty of the mediæval times have been discussed and important facts have been brought to light. But the subject of this paper yet remains a puzzle to many. Epigraphists and historians admit the succession of Gandaraditya but the duration of his time varies from a few months to a long reign of seventeen years. Mr. K. V. Subramania Ayyar and others are of the former theory, while Rao Bahadur H. Krishnasastri and some others hold the latter opinion. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao and Dr. Krishnasamy Ayyangar have said nothing about him.

Previous History.

Before going into the question of his reign, it is better that we study the previous history of the Cholas. Parantaka I—Madiraikonda-Parakesari—ascended the Chola throne in 907 A.D. His father Āditya successfully invaded Tondaimandalam and brought it under the sway of the Cholas. He is also known as Tondaiman Aṟṟur Tunjia Thevar (தொண்டைமான் ஆற்றார் தஞ்சிய தேவர்). Tondaimandalam was kept intact for some time by Parantaka. Krishna III of the Rashtrakutas who ascended the Rashtrakuta throne in or about 937 A.D. invaded Thondaimandalam about 942 A.D. Parantaka who was then engaged in a war with the Pandyas and Simhalas hastened to the north and wrested his dominions from Krishna III. This is borne out by verse 58 in the Kanyakumari inscription which runs as follows:—

यज्जिगायविजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजितंनराधिपैः ।

भूरिविक्रमविवर्द्धितद्युतिर्वारचोल इति तेनकीर्त्यते ॥

From this it may be seen that Parantaka assumed the title of Vīra Chōla in addition to his other titles of Sangrama Rāghava and others after defeating Krishna III.

Some are of opinion that Krishna III began to reign in Tondaimandalam from 942—the 35th year of Parantaka I, as his (Krishna's) inscription is found in Siddalingamatam. If this was a fact, Krishna's inscriptions of the later years also should have been found. But what do we find? Instead of Krishna's inscriptions, inscription of 35, 37, 40 and 41 years of Parantaka are found at Jambai, Elvānasūr, Grāmam, Thirumālpuram, etc., in the north

and these go to confirm that Krishna III retired from Tondaimandalam but was waiting for an opportunity.

After the death of Parantaka I in or about 948 A.D., Krishna III invaded Tondaimandalam again and met Rajaditya-Parantaka's eldest son who was the then viceroy in the north at Thakkolam and gained a victory by killing through treachery. After having thus defeated the Cholas, Krishna was content with the annexation of the country north of Vellar a natural boundary between the Chola dominion proper and Tondaimandalam. As Rajaditya was killed in battle, his next brother Gandaraditya ascended the throne in or about 948 A.D., about the time when the Pandyas and the Banas asserted their independence. What seems to have been left for the Cholas was the Chola dominion proper, known as Cholamandalam bounded by Vellar in the north, Kottaiakarai in the west and the Pandya line of boundary in the south. Why was he—Gandaraditya—a son of a famous king like Parantaka Chōla Perumānadigal—was quiet without retrieving his lost fortunes? To understand the situation it is necessary to study the life of Gandaraditya.

His Life.

In the sacred works of the Saivas called Thirumurai, there is a collection called Thiru Isaippa. The authors of Thiru Isaippa are Thirumālikai Thēvar, Sēnthanār, Karuvur Thēvar, Kādar Kone, Gandaraditya, Veṇattadigal and others—nine in all. The following stanza will clearly indicate the saintly authors:—

செம்பொன் மணியம்பலத்து நிருத்தனர்க்குத்
திருவிசைப்பாவரைத்தவர் தந்திருப்பேர் சொல்லிற்
பம்பு புகழ்செறிதிருமாளிகை மெய்தேவர்
பரிவுடைய சேந்தனார் கருவூர்த்தேவர்
நம்பிகாடவர் கோனற் கண்டராதித்தர்
நன்குயர் வேண்டட்டி கடிருவாலியமுத
ரம்புவியோர் புகழ் புருடோத்தமர் சேதிராய
ராக விவரொன்பதின்மர் தாமுறை கண்டடைவே.

To quote the words of the author of *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, “Gandaraditya appears to have been a Tamil scholar and one of his compositions is preserved in the collection of devotional hymns known as ‘Thiru Isaippa’. In the last stanza of the poem he calls himself the son of the Chola king who took Madura and Ceylon, by which it is clearly meant Parantaka I.” He was not only a Tamil scholar of the rarest merit but was also a religious devotee of the highest order as to be canonized and included in the order of saints. His hymns are sung along with others in the daily service in temples. The religious bent of mind made him averse to earthly pleasures and regal dignity. Perhaps a clue may be found in this for

not retrieving the lost dominions following in the wake of his illustrious father. Though he made no efforts to regain what was his, yet he did not lose what was left to him and there is no record that he was a weak king. On the other hand, he seems to have bestowed many properties on deserving men and we learn from the Anaimangalam Grant, otherwise known as Leyden Grant, that he gave away a village named Gandaraditya Chathurvedimangalam on the northern bank of Cauvery—Coleroon, just one mile west of Tirumalaivadi opposite to Trivadi (Tiru Ayyāru, Tanjore District). The copper-plate grants speak highly of his piety and dignity.

His queen Sembian Mahā Dēviār was also of the same turn of mind. She was a Malava princess. His first wife Virumarayanar died early when he was a prince. He had no other queens except Sembian Mahā Dēviār unlike others. She had the ancient temples of Vada Kurangāduthurai (north-east of Ayyampet, S. I. R.), Tirumananjeri in Mayavaram Taluk and others rebuilt with stone. She also renovated the temple of Tirunallam now known as Konerirajapuram and called it as Gandaradityam after her royal husband. The portrait of her husband, herself and their child are cut in the temple. There is also a village called Sembian Mahādēvi * named after her in the Negapatam Taluk where there are many inscriptions in the temple. Her charities and gifts are found incised in almost all the temples in the Tanjore District. This religious couple was blessed with a child.

The Leyden Grant says that Gandaradityan having given birth to a son went to heaven. From the available records it may be inferred that Gandaraditya and his wife were leading a pious life.

His Death.

Though the Leyden Grant is content with saying that Gandaraditya went to heaven after the birth of his child, the Kanyakumari inscriptions are silent about this king. All the grants and inscriptions agree in stating that Arinjaya—known as Arindama in records—ascended the throne. From these Mr. K. V. Subramania Ayyar concluded that Gandaraditya lived only for a short time. No scholar has attempted to solve whether this king paid his debt of nature naturally or was killed in battle. The subjugation of Pandimandalam by Parantaka I seems to have troubled the Pandyan king, Vīra Pandya. It is on record that one Vīra Pandya took the head of a Chola king about this time. For this treacherous act this Vīra Pandya lost his head which was played like a ball by Aditya Karikala II, son of Sundara Chola Parantaka II. The latter succeeded his father Arinjaya, who seems to have ruled only for a few months and whose records are not available uptil now anywhere

* This village has been, I understand, inspected by the Madras Epigraphist last year.

except in grants. In the Thirukkalithittai inscriptions (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 126), it is stated that Sundara Chola drove the Pandya into the forest. Again we read in the Kanyakumari inscriptions that 'the son of this king (*i.e.*, Arinjaya) was Parantaka (Sundara Chola) who ever had his host of enemies destroyed; and contemplating on whose advancement, the quivering Pandya sovereign crossed the mountain and fled away' (v. 63). It seems certain from this that Vira Pandya did not kill either Parantaka or his father Arindama. Whom then does Vira Pandya boast of having killed? May we not be justified in supposing that Gandaraditya should be the king who was killed by Vira Pandya? Vira Pandya might have risen against the Cholas and encroached on the Cholamandalam. Gandaraditya might have marched his armies against him much against his will and might have lost his life by treachery. For this act alone Vira Pandya was driven away by Sundara Chola Parantaka II, successor of Gandaraditya. That is why the plates simply pass off mentioning his divinity and piety alone.

His Successors.

It was mentioned above that Gandaraditya was blessed with a son. How then did the throne pass on to his brother and his son? This son who was named Madurantaka Uttama Chola did actually began to reign in A.D. 969-970. He was a minor when his father was killed. According to ancient custom Gandaraditya's next brother took the reins of government. But he seems not to have lived long while his son who was then powerful ascended the throne and kept at bay all his neighbours. Though the reign was going on in the name of Arinjaya and Sundara Chola, Uttama Chola seems to have been the Crown Prince all along as Udayar Uthama Chola Thevar (உடையார் உத்தம சோழமேவர்) occurs in every record. In Number 115 of Vol. III, *South Indian Inscriptions*, it is recorded that during the reign of Madirai Konda Ko Parakesari, one Nagamayya, son of Singamayya, an officer who followed the household of Udayar Uttama Chola Thevar, left 90 sheep and one light for a perpetual lamp to be burnt at the temple at Tiruvorriur. This title of Udayar is assumed only by kings. Pillayar is the title enjoyed by the princes of the royal family. There are many records such as Pillayar Arikula Kesari, Pillayar Uthama Sili. From this we may infer that Prince Uttama Chola was the real heir to the throne in the regular line. As he was very young when his father died, his uncle Arinjaya and his cousin Sundara reigned in his stead and when he came of age, the crown passed on to him. The Government Epigraphist is also of opinion that "He was perhaps the chosen successor of Gandaraditya at the time. We know, however, that he came actually to the throne only after one or two other kings had reigned subsequent to Gandaraditya." The Tiruvalangadu plates also support my inference in

an indirect way. It says that "(Though) requested by the subjects (to occupy the Chola throne) in order to destroy the persistently blinding darkness of the powerful Kali, Arunmoḷi Varman (Rāja Rāja) who understood the essence of royal conduct, desired not the kingdom for himself even in his mind, while his paternal uncle coveted his dominions" (verse 69). It is rather stating in an indirect way that as Uttama was reigning, Rāja Rāja did not wish to rebel against his authority. If so, from what date he was reigning will be the question. There are positive evidences of Lithic records at Thiruvadamaruthur and Karkoil for the beginning of his reign. From these inscriptions, it is known that he began to reign from 959 A.D. We have it on the authority of the Epigraphists that Sundara Chola Parantaka II died in 970 A.D. If Uttama Choḷa had no title to the crown there would be no necessity for him to assume the regal title just a year before the death of Sundara Chola who had two sons. It is also clear from the above that he was the real king and as he was a minor, the others nominally reigned. We may also be permitted to state that he should have attained the age of 18 at least, if not more, when he assumed the reins of government. In that case his father Gandaraditya who died sixteen years before would have left him a babe of two years.

The Point of Issue.

Now the real point at issue is whether Gandaraditya ruled for 17 years or 3 months. We are unable to agree with either of the theories. Parantaka I died in 948 A.D. As Prince Rajaditya, the first son of Parantaka, died in the battlefield in the same year, his next brother Gandaraditya became the Chola king. This was in the years 947-948 A.D. We have it on the authority of Tiruvalangadu and Anaimangalam Grants that Arinjaya and Sundara ruled after Gandaraditya. These three reigns are placed between the years 948 and 970 A.D. But it is authoritatively stated that Sundara Chola reigned for 17 years between the years 954 and 970.* The interval 948-954 from the death of Parantaka I to the beginning of the reign of Sundara Chola has to be placed at the credit of Gandaraditya. As to Arinjaya, it is to be taken for granted that he lived only for a short time in 954 as we have not got any records about him at present.

But Mr. K. V. Subramania Ayyar in a note to his edition of Kanyakumari Inscriptions is emphatic in saying that 'the entire absence of record of the time of Gandaraditya and Arinthama cannot but indicate that both of them passed away soon after Parantaka I'. As we are now concerned with Gandaraditya alone, we may proceed to examine whether we have got any records of Gandaraditya anywhere in the Choḷa nadu. We have to remember that

* 953-970 according to K. V. S. Iyer (*vide* T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 68.)

he is a Rājakesari as Parantaka I is a Parakesari. We come across many records of simple Rājakesari and Rāja Rājakesari. Simple Rājakesari records are left unidentified while Rāja Rājakesari are attributed to Rāja Rāja the Great. Scholars do not take into account that the records of Rāja Rāja do not begin with single Raja as Ko Rajakesari. His short title is *Salai Kalamaruthu Nolambapādium Vengainadum Tadigaipādium Konda Ko Rāja Rāja Rājakesari Panmar* (சாலைக் களமறுத்து நொளம்பப்பாடியும் வேங்கை நாடும் தடிகைப்பாடியும் கொண்டகோ ராஜ ராஜ ராஜகேசரி பன்மர்). One important point to be noted in the Lithic records now available is that Rāja Rāja is stated to be Ko Rāja Rāja Rājakesari, i.e., his name is stated as Rāja Rāja and his title of Rajakesari is also given. Wherever we find one Rāja and Rajakesari we may take it as certain that it belongs to Gandaraditya. This suggestion may look novel at first sight, but after a close and patient study of many inscriptions published, unpublished and not yet copied by the Epigraphical Department, I have come to this conclusion and my patient labours have been, I hope, crowned with success. Recently, when I visited the Koothoor temple, east of Nāchiarkoil, I found to my utter astonishment, inscriptions in corroboration of my conclusions. The record of Rāja Rāja runs thus: திருமகன்போல பெருநிலச்செல்வியும்..... செழியரைத் தேசுகொள்கோ விராஜ ராஜ ராஜகேசரியான ராஜ ராஜ தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு 22-ஆவது. What I consider to be that of Gandaraditya is as follows:—ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோவி ராஜ ராஜகேஸரி வன்மர்க்கு யாண்டேழாவது திருநரையூர் நாட்டு கூடூர் ஆதித்ய ஈசரமுடைய பரமஸ்வாமிக்கு இங்கனாட்டுதியன் குடையன் நம்பரையன் வைத்ததிரு நொந்தா விளக்கு மூன்று. This inscription is incised just above that of Rāja Rāja. It may be seen from this that the conclusions arrived at by me are correct.

I shall adduce another proof. In the Thiagaraja Swamin temple at Tiruvarur we read No. 950 I.M.P. (571 of 1904) as follows:—ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோவி ராஜ ராஜகேஸரி பன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு 7-வது நான் 303ஆல் சோழநாட்டுக் காவிரித் தென்கரை திருவாரூர் கூற்றத்தப் பிரமதேயம் ஆடியப்பிச் சுதர்வேதி மங்கலத்து சபையேம் ஸ்ரீ யாக்கொ ஸ்ரீராம..... யளபாநாட்டு கோராஜமே நாயத்து திருவாரூர் அர நெறி ஆள்வார் கோயில் திருக்கற்றளி எழுந்தருளிலிக்க உடைய பிராட்டியார் செம்பியன் மாதேவிபார் இக்கோயிலில் எழுந்தருளிவிச்சது மாசந்தர தேவர்.....

Another record No. 146 I.M.P. Tanjore (No. 156 of 1908) in the second year of Rajakesari Varman recording the gift of silver vessels, Chauri made of gold by Udaya Pirattiar Sembian Mahadeviar *alias* Parantaka Mahadeva Adigalar runs as follows:—ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோவிராஜகேஸரி பன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு 2-வது திருநரையூர் நாட்டு தேவதானம் திருநரையூர் சித்தீசர முடையார்த்த உடைய பிராட்டியார் செம்பியன் மாதேவியார் அமுதுசெய்க் கொடுத்த வெள்ளி வட்டிகை ஒன்று..... நூற்று எழுபத்து நாதகழஞ்சம் வெள்ளிக்கலசம் ஒன்று எழுநூற்று நாதப்பதின் கழஞ்சம் பொற்கை சாமரை ஒன்றும்.....கொடுத்தது, பன்மலேஸ்வர ரகெஷ்.

Similar records are found at Tirumananjeri, Mayavaram Taluk, Vadamkurangaduthurai, near Ayyampet Railway Station and many other places.

In the annual reports of the Government Epigraphists, we find these attributed to Rāja Rāja. The words Udaya Pirattiar are always applied to the queens of ruling monarchs. The phrase would mean Arasanudaya Pirattiar (அரசனுடைய பிராட்டியார்), the queen of the reigning king. We know full well that Rāja Rāja had no queen bearing the name of Sembian Mahādēviar. His queens are always styled as Nam Pirattiar, cf. நம்பிராட்டியார் தந்திசுத்தி விடங்கியார், நம்பிராட்டியார் உலகமகாதேவியார். As the records quoted here do not mention such names, it may safely be concluded that these records belong to the reign of Gandaraditya. But objection may be taken that Udaya Pirattiar is also found in the inscriptions of Madurantaka Uttama Chola Deya. There it is recorded as Pirattiar who gave birth to Uthama Chola Deva, "Uthama Chola Devarai Thiruvairu Vaitha Udaya Pirattiar", meaning thereby the queen-mother. In some other records this same Sembian Mahādēviar is described as மழவன் மகளார் கண்டராதித்தர் தேவியார் செம்பியன் மாதேவியார். If the records run in such a way during the reign of his own son, how it would be recorded in the reign of a relation may be better imagined.

It may be seriously doubted whether records of the early reign of Rāja Rāja exist at all. If one examines the inscriptions in the light of the above remarks he may be sure to come to the conclusion that the records bearing Ko Rājakesari and Ko Rāja Rājakesari belong to the reign of Gandaraditya and they are found upto his eighth year also in Koohoor, Tiruppalathurai and other places.

The Theory of 17 Years.

In the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part 3, the Editor, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry has edited eight inscriptions Nos. 111-118. Nos. 111 & 112 relate to the eighth year of Rājakesari. No. 116 is from Velachery in Puliur Kottam Thondamandalam. It is dated in the seventh year of Madirai-konda Rājakesari. Nos. 117 and 118 are in the seventeenth year of Madirai-konda Rājakesari from Thirumalpuram in Tondaimandalam. If all these belong to the reign of Gandaraditya, the following points have to be cleared:—Whether Tondamandalam was under him at any time; whether he made any conquests during his lifetime; whether he had such a long reign. As to the first point, it may safely be said that inscriptions of Gandaraditya could not be found north of Vellar as Krishna III, the Rashtrakuta King, was in possession of that portion before Gandaraditya came to the throne.

As to the second point, it may be said that Gandaraditya had no conquests. If he had gained any victory anywhere it would have been mentioned in the copper-plate grants. The inscriptions would have it, *cf.*, மதிரைகொண்ட, மதிரையும் ஈழமுங்கொண்ட, பாண்டியன் முடித்தல்கொண்ட, பாண்டியனைச் சுரம் இறக்கின. But the editor of the third part of the *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, identifies Madiraikonda Rājakesari Varman referred to in No. 115 with Gandaraditya, the second son of Parantaka I, *on the supposition that 'he must have inherited the title of Madiraikonda from his father who first bore it and that he should have been the immediate successor of Parantaka I on the Chola throne.'* (The Italics are mine.) Hitherto we have not come across any record of a son appropriating the title of his father. On the other hand, we have a number of records in support of fathers appropriating the glorious deeds of their sons, who led the army in the field as their father's lieutenants, *cf.* Rājendra Chola, Kulothunga, Rājāthi Rāja. Mere suppositions may lead to serious mistakes. As an analogy it may be seen to what length they have been driven in the succession of Perunarkilli, Karikala, Kōchenganan and Killi Valavan. Perunarkilli was identified with Killi Valavan, a king that lived some decades after Karikala. This error has also been noted by Mr. K. V. S. Ayyar in his introduction to the Kanyakumari Inscriptions. Hence we may be sure that Gandaraditya had no glorious deeds behind him to call himself Madiraikonda but was only a plain Rājakesari.

As to the last point, it can be disposed off in a few sentences. Parantaka died in 947-8. Seventeen years from this date will take us to the years 964-5. It has been shown above that this year falls within the reigning period of Parantaka Sundara Chola. Leaving aside this theory, if we allow 953 as the last date of Parantaka I, then, we would be taken to 970. We would be in the reign of Uttama Chola which is quite impossible. It has already been demonstrated that inscriptions of Gandaraditya could not be found in Tondaimandalam.

These inscriptions then should be those of Sundara Chola Parantaka II, as he is the king who drove the Pandya into the forest. It may, therefore, be concluded that the theories advanced in the *S. I. I.* would not stand the test of criticism.

Under the existing materials, it is but just and proper to hold that Gandaraditya ascended the throne in 948 A.D., and ruled till 956 when he was killed by Vīra Pandya, which act was avenged by his son with the aid of his cousin, Sundara Chola Parantaka II.

“ UP THE LADDER ”

OR

DURYODHANA'S DISGRACE

(From the Tamil Ballad of Pukhazhēndi, a great bard of the 12th century.)

BY K. DEVANATHACHAR, ESQ., M.A.

Foreword.

THE following is an adaptation into English prose of one out of the many legends long current in the Tamil land, connecting an ancient Pandyan Amazon Alli with the semi-divine Arjuna of the Pandavas. The Pandyas among the dynasts of the Peninsula are the oldest in point of line and were the most revered among Ruling Houses, their mention by name in the *Ramayana* attesting to the former, and their claim to have had at one time the Lord Siva Himself incarnating as one of them attesting to the latter. There is no wonder that the *Mahabharata* which is far later in time than the *Ramayana* refers to them in more places than one. The Pandyas had thus, antiquity on their side, in their boast that they were of the same Chandra-Vamsa as the Pandavas and were even distantly allied to them. It is beliefs of this kind widely prevalent among people of the South that emboldened Pughazhēndi, one of the shining lights of Tamil Classical Literature, to compose in a lighter vein half a dozen lays and ballads, in three or four of which figure Alli and Arjuna. Pughazhēndi lived and wrote in the eleventh century in the days of the Chola Kulōthunga I (1044-1078 A.D.). He was the Court poet then of a contemporary Pandya who ruled from Korkai in Tinnevely, now reduced to a small village on the sea-coast. This Pandya's daughter was given in marriage to Kulōthunga, and in the wake of the Princess followed her father's Court poet, sent at his wish that he should be ever near her with his counsel and guidance. Pughazhēndi's talents being of very high order, the Court poet of the Chola, Ottakūthan, afraid of the stranger finding favour in the king's eyes, intrigued to such good effect that his rival was thrown into prison on some pretext or other. For long the act was kept secret from the queen but when she learnt of it, she took prompt measures to set free her favoured bard and counsellor. All the same, the sagacious poet knew that the next blow by his incensed rival would be at his life, and so, he quietly fled one day to the Court of a feudatory of the Chola, Chandiran-Suvarki by name, lord of Malluva. He was welcomed there with grateful pleasure and installed in the highest seat of honour. The poet ended his days in Malluvam after many years of leisurely literary

activity, bequeathing to posterity his immortal *Nala-venba*, and a string of aphorisms which are known to the world of scholars as *Rathna-Churukkam* (a short collection of brilliants).

The lay under reference, along with other lays, is believed to have been sung by him extempore, seated at the bars of the window of his prison, what time women of the neighbourhood passed by to and fro for fetching water. The style of the ballads suits such a belief—simple, direct, homely, with a lilt in the lines which lends itself easily to the measure of the *Kummi* sung by damsels of an evening dancing round the tall, multi-faced Kuthivilakku (Candlebra)—K. D.

Duryodhana the mighty ruled in splendour all Aryavarta from his throne at Hastinapura. The sway which should have graced the great name of the Pandavas fell with ill-grace into the hands of their cousin who to obtain it used a vile devise. On the occasion of the investiture of the sacred thread to his son Lakshmana, Duryodhana invited his cousins of Indraprasta and there the eldest of the five brothers with his usual fatality fell into the snare of the unscrupulous Shakuni and agreed to play at dice. The results were disastrous to the Pandavas; all of them lost, as a last item of bet their personal liberty to Duryodhana, and it was only through Draupadi's presence of mind, that their independence was restored and they turned their faces forestwards. This concession of Dhritarashtra spelt future ruin to his dynasty, and so, the old man was again prevailed upon to recall the unfortunate Yudhistira for a second game, at which the wager was the exile of the Brothers for a period of twelve years in case they lost. What with Shakuni's sleight of hand and Dharma's abhorrence of underhand ways, the result may easily be imagined. The Pandavas went into exile.

Arjuna the most renowned among the five had, besides Draupadi, many wives whose love was won in the course of his numerous adventures. As the hour of parting came, Arjuna sent to distant Madura in the south (where reigned queen Alli, one of his wives) all his wives, requesting Alli to keep them with her till the exile was over.

Duryodhana's Passion for Subhadra.

His cousins were in exile; the people who were discontented at first, reconciled themselves to his sway with the lapse of time. The great captains of his day, Drona, Bhishma, Kripa, Aswattama and Karna, continued their services under his banner and shed lustre on his name. Prosperity brought out the evil coursing always in his blood and one day, he awoke to the fact that life was not worth living if the fair Subhadra, wife of Arjuna and sister of Krishna, did not share its blessings with him. The more he thought of it, the more he became like one possessed and once when he had finished the

day's sitting and all had dispersed, he signed to Karna to stop. The latter did so, anticipating some weighty consultation on affairs of state. Duryodhana approached him and began thus: "Friend of my bosom and bravest of the brave! The secret which I wish to share with you is none of statecraft, war or peace. It is purely personal. You know, how some time ago stout Balarama desired to bestow the hands of beauteous Subhadra on me, your sincere friend. Even the day was fixed and preparations went on apace. Then came, like a bolt from the blue, the news that Arjuna in the guise of a sanyasi, aided by that prudent-plotter Krishna, first eloped with Subhadra and then returned to her place, where he married her with the consent of both the brothers. From the moment I heard of this, I have become a changed man. Nothing in life seems to be of any value—power, greatness, sweet food, repose or even my own invaluable life. Constant brooding brings on visions where I see myself in dalliance with her, and these visions are rapidly unnerving me. Listen carefully to what I have to say yet. The cursed Pandavas are for some time past fugitives on the face of the earth. Arjuna's many wives, Draupadi excepted, are left to the safe keeping of Alli, a mannish woman ruling somewhere in the south. *Now* is the hour for me to get back my own. What say you to our journeying together *incognito* to distant Madura, where I shall gain access to my divine tormentress and lay at rest the fierce passion that is eating into my vitals? Say 'Yes' and this moment shall see us start together."

Karna's face was a study for a great painter who stood in quest of subjects, dominated by horror, disgust, nay, utmost loathing but thinly veneered over with formal respect. With calmness threatening to give away every moment, he replied thus: "Friend, Patron and King! What words are these to which I listen! Where did you get this idea of insulting another man's wife, and that other man, the hero Arjuna *sans par sans reproach* and this Arjuna your very brother! Again I ask of you, who put this most hellish idea into your head? Now, brushing aside the ethics of it, have you bestowed a single minute's thought on who Alli is and what she is capable of doing? Take heed of my words, O King! The moment you set your foot in Madura, on evil bent, that moment is your last on earth! Nay, losing one's life is nothing; you, Duryodhana the mighty, unconquered monarch of all Aryavarta, will become a thing of shame to all future ages, and men and women will consider it unblessed even to utter your name!"

These stinging words, proceeding as they did from an outraged bosom, went deep into the heart of the prince, and turning aside from Karna with a face livid with passion, he muttered: "Out on thee you ingrate! I did not ask of thee divine wisdom, but human help. Since you refuse, go thine way

gloating over thy righteousness and leave me to achieve what I desire by other means ! ”

With features working with passion and hands in unbridled fury tearing and casting aside the priceless jewels he wore, with limbs unsteady and jerking, he tottered into the women's quarters where many terrified maidens guided him into the apartments of his wife. Perundevi, his chief queen, was deeply agitated when she saw the condition of her husband and ran quickly forward to receive him in her embraces. Disengaging himself from her clasp, he sat beside her on a low gem-girt divan and to her many anxious enquiries as to the state of his mind and body, vouchsafed no other reply except a series of profound sighs. Solicitous persistence had however its effect and the partially-composed monarch condescended to unburthen himself thus : “ Sweet wife of mine, and queen among women ! What shall I say of the awful passion that is now tearing my bosom ! The image of blushing Subhadra is ever before my eyes and because she lies immured at present in far away Madura with no one to solace her, my manhood imperiously pulls me on to her pining side. What say you to expedite me on my way with your sweet words of counsel and encouragement ? Prithi dear ! Say me ‘aye’ and bid me go to enjoy life with Subhadra even were it for a single day.”

Just as Karna's face was a study for a master-painter, so to the very tilt of her eye-brows, was the face of horror-struck Perundevi, as the heavy coarse-skinned Duryodhana went on with his recital. Unable to contain herself she broke out thus : “ What O King, what is it that you are now giving utterance to ? Heard any one ever of a brother going mad after a brother's wife ? Is not she, if wife of a younger, his daughter, and if of an elder, his mother ? And what can come out of unrighteousness but sin and death ? Are you, my husband, a common, lewd lout that wretched intrigues of this low kind have aught of savour for you ? Are you not, on the other hand, most puissant prince, monarch of a thousand towns, nay, Emperor from sea to sea ? Who is to guide thy million subjects into the path of rectitude, if thou, their master, thus give way to unholy passion ? Are you not aware, O lord of my heart, who that woman Alli is, under whose ægis Subhadra lives this hour ? You know in your heart of hearts how the whole world is powerless against the five, your dread cousins. These five are nothing, O ruler of my soul, against that flower-born lassie, Alli, when she is roused. So think not, husband mine, even for a moment, on this atrocious birth of thy brain, but utterly ignore it and allow it to wither. These are my humble words of counsel to thee, who sayeth you seek them ! ”

Bitter was the ridicule which the insensate king poured on the still excited head of his wife. "Lo, you silly wretch! What made you presume to advise men, and more, monarchs! What are your functions in life, O you impudent piece of clay! Is it not that fates have made you only to fan up the dying embers of the household hearth, to half boil wholesome things and to ill-clean used-up chatties and pans! What a fool I that thought of repairing to you for advice on matters which concern only statesmen, generals and strategists! Does a woman know aught else in the world except to dress her hair and to shed tears copiously on each and every occasion? Get out of my sight, you paltry wretch, lest I do you any bodily harm, which you so richly deserve!"

So raved Duryodhana and raving still, stumbled into his own part of the Palace.

March to Madura.

Utterly disgusted with the intimates whose help he sought, an idea dawned at last that the achievement lay only with himself and outside aid of any kind should be shunned. So, as soon as day broke, an order from him went forth that a thousand of his fighting men should get ready with all their accoutrements, prepared to go with him into the interior of the forest on a vast, general hunt. The dread name of the tyrant massed before the Palace in the space of an hour the required number of men and material, and the royal elephant with the golden howdah on its huge back, stood kneeling at the doors of his apartments ready to receive him as he came. Thus mounted and thus accompanied, he set out on the ostensible hunt, colours flying, bands playing, gorgeous heralds proclaiming his many imagined material virtues and vaunted acts of glory. Gigantic drums drawn on carts preceded the cavalcade rousing thunderous echoes in all parts of the horizon. In this wise, did the reckless king pass through the confines of his great capital, but the mood and the manner changed once the Ganges was crossed and the immense wilderness of the south loomed in view. Intent on reaching Subhadra's side despite distance, despite difficulties, his army found themselves lashed to the utmost speed they were capable of, the halts being few and far between. The immense Vindhyan forests, vast tracts of lower Central India, the uplands of the Deccan with bare patches of scrub jungle here and there, the fertile loam-tracts of the Krishna and the Thungabhadra, the well-cultivated extent of soil of ancient Aru-kadu (Mod-Thondanadu, *i.e.*, Districts of Cuddappah, Chittoor, North Arcot, Chingleput and South Arcot), the hustling towns that sported their men and their wealth on either banks of the Cauvery—all these were alike powerless to tire or tempt the passion-possessed prince, whose only rest was when he changed

his mount from elephant to horse, from horse to palanquin and from palanquin back to horse or elephant. Many of his men and steeds dropped on the way either dead or dying. He never cared to turn back his head and even the food he gulped down his throat was always with face to the south. Such perseverance the gods occasionally reward with success even in wrong causes, and one fine morning several weeks after leaving Hastinapur, the impatient monarch was informed by the guides whom the tyrant had impressed into his service, that yonder lay Madura on the banks of the Vaigai and that another half-an-hour's march would bring them to the precincts of the famous capital. Great was the joy of his limb-sore followers. A general halt was proclaimed and complete rest for that auspicious day. A review was held and what though many a trooper fell on the way, the Prince found, there were hundreds left to do honour to his great name and to uphold him in his adventures.

The Manner of His Reception.

The camp was all in a bustle on the following day. The men were all made to dress themselves gaudily, and massed bands ordered to pierce with their music the quiet, morning air. Conches blew, big drums beat and horns of gold announced with long-drawn blasts the fact, the great fact, that the mighty Duryodhana, monarch of all Aryavarta, was in camp on the confines of Madura waiting to be received with due honour, by the queen of that imperial city. The unusual sounds of aggressive flourish penetrated even into the palace of Alli then holding her morning Court, and she asked in surprise her generalissimo standing by the throne what it all meant. That lady, Pavalasēna by name, forthwith bowed and left the precincts of the audience chamber. In a few minutes, she was at the gates of the Palace and from there listened attentively to the notes of thunder pealing forth the name and style of Duryodhana, the king of kings. With anger sending the blood to her face, she hurried back to the golden hall and announced in a few words that Duryodhana, the unblessed, was waiting at the boundary demanding to be received inside. Like a sudden storm that heralds disaster on a fine day, the brows of haughty Alli darkened in passion, and with ill-restrained fury, she commanded the Amazons standing in a ring round her that none in the Palace or the city should betray any interest in the presence.

Telling them of the criminal intentions of the tyrant, she reminded the keepers of great gates how they should act up to the letter of their usual instructions regarding the entry of unwelcome guests into Madura. Duryodana waited anxiously hour after hour and finding that none, not even the peasants, took any notice of him, ordered his heralds in utter disgust to change their flourish into one announcing the presence, near

Madura, of Karna, the King of Kasi. The changed notes attracted as before the attention of Alli and she ordered Pavaḷasēna to go out and ascertain whose advent they meant. Pavaḷasēna did as she was bid, and returning soon after reported that the Great Karna, Lord of Angadesa was awaiting the queen's pleasure to enter into the city. Pleased as much by this news as she was disgusted at hearing Duryodhana was near, she commanded the return flourish of her own big drums conveying cordial welcome to Karna, the foremost of Aryan warriors. The far-flung notes throbbed pleasantly in the eager ears of Duryodhana, and bidding his commandants to keep carefully together till he returned, he made preparations on an elaborate scale, to repair unattended to Alli's presence. He donned elegant raiments wearing over them rare and exquisite jewellery. Golden sandals shimmered on his feet, and in his right hand, he held a diamond-studded ferrule. A belt begemmed with precious stones held his sword and dagger. Thus accoutred, he entered jauntily the street of Madura, through its great gates, viewing with keen interest the manifold beauties of the splendid mansions ranged on either side tenanted by merchant princes, proud men of war, well-dowered priests and owners of extensive estates. Expansive squares intervened at regular distances imparting an air of healthy spaciousness to the whole urban area. With a tread peculiar to monarchs and conquerors, and with a mien, which heavy though it seemed for lack of humour, yet showed supreme courage and indifference, he approached gradually the entrance of the Palace, and the guards who had orders to admit freely any stranger who sought admission bade him on courteously. Through broad avenues resounding with sweet bird-voices and sweeter notes of hidden music, the stranger advanced to the base of a magnificent flight of marble steps. Unseen eyes noted quickly the advent of Duryodhana with his serpent-crest instead of the heroic lord of Anga, and reported the fact forthwith to the waiting Queen. "What!" cried this fiery daughter of an imperious line "do jackals beard lions in their dens! Do toads jump, of their own accord, into the open jaws of the cobra! This man, vilest of the vile, you say, has come as far as our palace helped on by a lie. Liar, false and craven, hath he always been, and a craven's fate awaits him even now. Hie thee hence, Pavaḷasēna and arrest the ascent of the man up the steps. Ask of him why he comes hither where only women rule. Be wary with him and soft of tongue as we wish to gain time to devise ways of adequate punishment. Get thee gone now!" Alli barely closed her lips ere Pavaḷasēna was gone. Standing, with drawn sword, on the third step of the stately staircase, she saw coming up towards her a tall, heavily-built figure clad in clothes of gold. She bade the stranger stop where he was and asked him who he was and why

he was coming thither. Obeying her orders instantly the man made answer : "Glad am I, damsel, that you ask me who I am and why I am hither. You must have heard of the magnificent Empire of the North—aye greater than your own Madura—that of Hastinapur. Years ago Balarama desired that his sister Subhadra should be given in wedding to me. But the wily Sri Krishna manœuvred into handing over Subhadra to Arjuna who was brought into Madura in the guise of an ascetic. Since that time, I have become Subhadra-mad and whichever way I turn I see her peerless vision dancing tauntingly before my eyes. Though lord of the lordliest kingdom on earth, I have become the veriest slave to my passion and it is only my shadow that seems to act as Duryodhana. The real Duryodhana lies ever at the lotus feet of the peerless maid who hath Krishna for her brother. O, thou, of Alli's household if only Subhadra is persuaded by thee to become mine, then great shall be thy reward. I want no speech or touch with the other wives of the proud Pandava who perhaps by this time is a corpse pecked at by vultures in some far-off forest on the Himalayan slope. Assure the Yadava maid when thou seest her that her lot, if she accepts me, will know neither peer nor rival. The state and the status of her who hath for her slave the master of the world, must be the highest on earth. Hie thee hence, therefore, and bring me the word of bliss that Subhadra wishes to fall into my waiting arms!" Pavaḷasēna made careful note of all that Duryodhana said, and asking him to wait where he was till she returned, went and reported all that transpired to the expectant queen. "Tell the lewd wretch that his wishes shall be fulfilled and that the queen desires to know what guerdon Subhadra will receive for the honour of returning his love. Tell him also that a short interval is required to overcome her vanishing scruples, and that he should go away then to return, *all alone*, after seven days to claim possession of his lady. Go now and send the reptile away."

Duryodhana, on learning the above terms, went into raptures over his exceeding great luck, and promising to lay at the lady's feet 700 camel loads of gold, made his way back to his camp outside the great city, and commanded the men to return to Delhi. As for himself, his feet scarcely touched the ground, so great was his elation at the bare thought of possessing Subhadra, fairest of the fair. No time was to be lost. There were only seven days before him and in this time he had to fly to his capital, arrange about the camel loads of gold, and then to obtain possession of his heart's desire. So, regardless of what his men did, he mounted the fastest steed of those that accompanied him, and riding with little or no halt reached Hastinapur at dawn of the third day. Alighting at the porch of the Palace, he went in and throwing himself on a divan, commanded that Karna should

be notified of his arrival and requested to attend on him. The ruler of Anga repaired to his suzerain's presence as desired, and being asked to sit beside him, enquired of Duryodhana how it fared with him and what results attended his visit to distant Madura. The lord of Hastinapur could scarce hide his elation as he narrated the events that took place and wound up by declaring his resolve to start thither the very next morn with the seven hundred camel loads of gold. Karna who understood at once how Alli had planned to inflict on this hare-brained idiot a terrible punishment, dissuaded the monarch with all the eloquence he could command from putting his head into the jaws of the lioness again. But all to no purpose. Duryodhana who felt himself highly insulted broke the conference by rising abruptly and retiring into the Queen's apartments. The Queen Perundevi, on seeing her lord approach, rose from her couch and prostrated herself before him. Lifting her joyfully and making her sit beside him, Duryodhana asked of her congratulations for the great good luck that was his, as the peerless Subhadra had promised to become his spouse only a short three days since. To the Queen this appeared to be a marvel and she pressed her husband for details. On hearing all that he had to say, it struck the Queen just as it did Karna, that the dreaded Alli was arranging to inflict some unheard of punishment on her infatuated and unsuspecting husband, and she besought him with all the tenderness she was capable of not to go to Madura again as by so doing she was afraid her lord would not come back to her. "Good my lord " she sobbed, "remember you the day when in the midst of the best in all Aryavarta, you sought to disrobe Draupadi, the common Queen of the Pandavas! Did not the matchless Bhima rise up then from his seat with a thundering roar to slay you! But for Sri Krishna's intervention with his miracle of mercy, my widowhood would have commenced from that very hour! And it strikes me that a similar crisis overhangs my head, and the result is a foregone conclusion."

These wailings on the part of the queen enraged the King and he left her side abruptly entering forthwith his bed chamber. There the vision of the lovely Subhadra began to haunt him and all that night and far into the night he lay tossing restlessly moaning and threatening alternately the shapes that rose and danced before his fevered brain. When with the dawn sanity returned, he set about making arrangements for his instant start to distant Madûra.

What Queen Alli did in Madura.

No sooner Duryodhana left the precincts of the Palace, than the Amazon-Queen summoned to her presence all the co-wives of Arjuna, and assuring them of her protection come whatever may, commanded Pavalasēna to start

forthwith for North Madura where alone dwelt the male artisans of her ancient Kingdom, the broad River Vaigai separating the two portions of the imperial city. Pavaḷasēna was to bring with her the carpenters who built for her royal use the great barge that stood as a wonder among the sea-crafts of those days. She was not to explain to the men what they were sent for except that their presence was urgently required. Pavaḷasēna hastened that very moment out of the Queen's presence and repaired to the northern half of the city in no time. When the master craftsmen who built for Alli the unique barge, were informed by the imperious Pavaḷasēna that their attendance at court was demanded without any delay these poor men concluded that some thing must have gone wrong with the boat they built for their terrible mistress, and making up their minds to meet bravely the death that was theirs, they bade a last adieu to their weeping wives and children and turning towards the fair messenger, said, they were ready to follow her.

Thus accompanied the intrepid Pavaḷa stood in the presence of the Amazon seated on her golden throne and humbly saluted, and then withdrew to the queen's right-hand side where the first place was hers. The seven artisans prostrated themselves at the foot of the throne and with folded hands and downcast eyes meekly awaited the Royal pleasure. The Queen who divined correctly the agitated feelings of these men, smiled, and told them not to feel any anxiety about their safety as it was her pleasure to profit by their genius just then rather than see them put to the torture. If only they carried out to perfection what she wanted at their hands, great should be their fame and no less their reward.

The overjoyed carpenters bowed to the Queen in fervent gratitude and assured her they were ready to carry out her commands, however hard or novel they may be. Then the youthful mistress of Madura unfolded to them in detail what she wanted. This was no less than a Magic Ladder made of wood inlaid with the costliest rubies and pearls. It was to consist of ten rungs and on each rung there should stand the likeness of a most beautiful damsel, that of Subhadra, the Queen among them all, standing on the tenth and topmost rung. The statue of Subhadra was to be so constructed, that its hinges and hidden springs should close on one who approached her and very nearly throttle the life out of him if he attempted to embrace it. Further, the ladder was not to move at all to any exertion by the hand, by a vigorous kick alone should it respond to outside force, and then, it must soar into the air like a winged thing. The propellers fitted to the ladder were to be so nicely adjusted that the power of the levers should fail once the place of destination was reached. Then it must fall to the ground from whose kicks must invariably bring it back to Madura!

Such were the orders of the Amazon and the master craftsmen bowed and retired. By intense meditation on the lotus feet of Viswakarma, their divine ancestor, they returned that same evening to the court, and set up the ladder of miracle before their imperious mistress ringed in by her brilliant court. Their task was not ended, in fact, the hardest and the cruellest was yet to come. Alli, while professing her admiration for the despatch and beauty of the work, commanded that one of them should go up the rungs, embrace the topmost statue, and then consent to being kicked into space from whence he must return, for otherwise she said she was not sure of success in the great attempt that she had in view. This was a case of the biter being bit. The men knew but too well the deadly mechanism they had contrived. One who ventured into its fold must emerge blood-bathed, pierced and battered all over, with small chance of life after that. They fell at Alli's feet and besought her to spare them their lives and also of their wives and children who were the abject dependants of her majesty. "Caitiffs," thundered the Queen, "who are ye, to stand and argue before ME! Go one of ye up the ladder at once, or else the torture which one of you dread will become the portion of you all this very moment!" After this there was nothing more to be said. The oldest of the seven bade a touching adieu to his brothers, and got up the rungs one by one scanning with a professional eye the beauties of the statuary set up on each. He reached with a prayer on his lips the topmost rung, and then there commenced for him an experience which only the souls of the lost are said to feel in Hell. On nearing Subhadra's statue up darted into action a score of spikes and clamps which pierced into the unfortunate man's shoulder, abdomen and loins, while he felt himself clasped by the statue in three different places. In this manner was the ladder kicked into air and after half an hour's sailing in the blue ether with graceful curves, the ladder of a thousand torments came down heavily to the ground in the presence of the delighted ruler of Madura. She testified her keen appreciation by ordering the instant withdrawal of the bleeding artisan from the fatal clutches of the siren, and saw to it that the man was attended to on the spot by the best of limbsetters and healers in her court. She overloaded with gifts the family of the poor man and sent away the rest similarly enriched and honoured.

Meanwhile, the Subhadra-mad lord of Hastinapur arrived on the morning of the eighth day at the gates of the Palace of Alli mounted on his huge state elephant of which he himself was the mahout, and behind him stood an array of camels each with its cargo of gold. Impatient of delay, he thundered at the gates which were opened to him at once. Hurrying to the bottom of the staircase of the Queen's Palace, he was met by a bevy of fair guards, whom he ordered to go to their mistress to announce the news of his arrival, and of

his eager desire to meet her without further delay. Some of the warrior dames sped accordingly unto the Rani's presence and informed her of Duryodhana's demand to be ushered into her presence immediately. Alli was prepared and the stage had been set in anticipation. She bade Pavaḷasēna set the ladder erect in a spacious angle of the hall, and then to retire beside the throne. One of the guards was to ask the king to come up, and when he did so, Pavaḷasēna was to advance and suggest to him that he should ascend the wonderful ladder to view its rare beauties, and then descend to claim the prize he came in quest of.

Her orders were obeyed. The heavy sensualist came up the staircase winged with desire, and readily mounted up the several rungs of the ladder admiring hugely the beauties carved on each rung. Thus admiring he put his foot on the topmost plank and there seeing the witching Subhadra reposing under a silken canopy, rushed towards her with words of love. Hardly had he thrown his arms around her, ere, with a whirl a brace of hidden clamps hugged him close to the recumbent figure while half a dozen needles pierced into his flesh on either side of the cheeks, the abdomen and the skull, the pain thereof drawing from him agonized cries. The treacherous ladder fell with a thud on the floor and the irate queen throwing off all restraint approaching the prostrate figure, got up a scroll setting out in detail the history of the intended rape of Subhadra and tied it to Duryodhana's hair so as to be plainly visible to all. The scroll went on to say that the Queen devised this engine of torture and humiliation to the coward who dared to imagine he could ravish another man's wife easily for the reason that her husband had become a homeless exile, and that only a woman (*i.e.*, herself, Alli) was giving shelter to her under her roof. All that beheld the ladder falling to the ground in their presence were to take out and read the scroll, spit in the man's face, steel their heart against his piteous wail and were to kick, and not handle the ladder which would then rise into the air cleaving it on its way to Madura. The scroll being tied as directed, the Queen struck several times with her cane at the bulky figure of the villain asking her court to do likewise. She then ordered the carpenters to kick the ladder up, regulating its screws to the distance of North Madura where it should fall in the court of her foster-parents, the Pandyas, who had taken her out as a baby floating on the petals of a lily in the limpid waters of the sacred Vaigai.

A while after, the great Pandya Princes who were assembled in court saw on a sudden a glittering, gold-plated ladder sinking swiftly and noiselessly to the ground in their presence, and seeing that it contained a human figure bound hand and foot, rushed in a body to raise the writhing unfortunate, but their gaze alighting on a scroll tied to his hair, they undid it and

read its contents. Astonishment broke out of their lips and awakened was their intelligence. They applauded to the skies their brave foster-daughter's ingenuity in punishing a base ravisher of unprotected womanhood, and spitting each of them at the agonized sensualist's face, gave the ladder a vigorous kick which sent it flying upwards.

In the twinkling of an eye the engine flew back to Alli's court and alighted in her presence. The tortured prince cried in most piteous tones to free him from the fatal clutch, confessing his guilt an unthinking baseness. His cries fell on deaf ears. The Queen again belaboured him with a cane and the court also did likewise. She then asked the artisans to kick the ladder up regulating its destination to the world of Adisesha in Patala (Antipodes) as his daughter Ulupi was one of Arjuna's wives.

Thus goes to and fro the magic contrivance to such places as Meghapuri, Bhogapuri, Cheranad, sea-girt Dwaraka, the stronghold of Sri Krishna, the dense forest of Kamyaka, the exile of the five brothers, to far-off Gandhara, the domain of the mean Shakuni, to Hastinapur itself, the city of the victim and finally back to Madura straight to the presence of the dread Queen.

Among all those to whom the ladder was sent, the reception accorded to it by Sri Krishna and the Pandavas was characteristic. Sri Krishna whose will it was that inspired Alli to devise this unique mode of punishment, affected extreme surprise on beholding the pitiable plight of Duryodhana but since he could not help it, had to kick back the mechanism to Alli's presence only, instead of applying his blessed feet to the frame lest the wicked prince escape thus the fruits of his evil. He heaved the rod under the ladder and thus sent it on its way.

When the engine fell at the feet of the Pandavas in their hermitage in the Kamyaka wilds, Dharmaputra was horror-struck to see a human being and that his cousin Durya, impaled on its rungs. With words of pity he was about to unscrew the clamps, when his attention was drawn to a brace of cadjan scrolls tied to the hair on the head of the victim. He asked Sahadeva—to whom and to the other brothers with Draupadi as well, the light of the hateful prince was a rare fun to undo the scrolls and read them. One scroll was that with which our readers are familiar. The other was specially addressed to them by the Amazon Queen with a request in it that as their sister-in-law Subhadra was in an advanced state of pregnancy, and desired to eat full ripe fruits of the forest, her brother-in-law Bhima may be pleased to tie to Durya's arms a load of fruits and other forest delicacies. The first note drew from Arjuna and Bhima strong oaths and imprecations, and small would Duryodhana's chances of ever coming out alive from the

ladder have been, if Dharmaputra had not deprecated the wrath of the heroes against a foe of theirs already being punished by a woman! The terms of the second scroll were complied with speedily by Bhima who tied with great satisfaction to the right arm of his evil cousin with an excessive zeal for its safety a load of the sweetest things the forest had in its gift.

The poor sufferer's reception at Hastinapur, his own capital, was the most distressing of all. The weird ladder descended in the midst of an assemblage comprising Drona, Kripa, Aswattama, Karna and Bhishma and though great was their eagerness to release their sovereign lord from the ladder's fell clasp, the scroll warned them of the futility of any such attempt, and they had to desist. Durya's Queen Perundevi with sobs convulsing her frame, and tears scalding her cheeks fell at the feet of Karna and implored him to hasten to Hastinapur and beg hard of Alli her husband's life pointing out to her that the punishment he had had was enough in all conscience.

King Karna agreed that that was the only course left open and then after having kicked the ladder into the air, gave orders for the swiftest steeds in the kingdom to be brought round at once. Mounted on one of them and leading two more alongside, he literally flew to distant Madura, and was there a little after the ladder spread its length at Alli's feet. In the southern metropolis, Pulandhara, son of Alli, by Arjuna, was moved to pity at the sufferings of the man on the ladder, and recommended the freeing of the unfortunate from the fatal clasps. The Queen said she would do so only if the noble Karna and the bright Sri Krishna came to her court on the wretch's behalf and asked for his freedom.

Barely had she done speaking ere there was brought to her news of Karna waiting her pleasure at the bottom of the great staircase. She issued instant orders for his admittance, while she provided a seat of gold for him near her. After he took his seat, the Queen advanced and made a low obeisance before him, and Karna pleased thereat blessed her and wished her all prosperity. Though well knowing the object of his visit, she yet asked him formally to what she was indebted for this unexpected favour, and then began Karna to recount what happened at Hastinapur when he and the other great heroes beheld the piteous plight of their sovereign lord, how Queen Perundevi was resolved to enter into fire in case her husband returned not alive to her, and how all his ninety-nine brothers besought of the invincible Alli, the life of Duryodhana. "O, thou flower-born and light of women-kind!" continued Karna, "be pleased to pour the waters of forgiveness on the raging fire of your anger. My king and comrade has paid dearly enough for his hare-brained intrigue. His passion, impure and unrighteous, grew intensely upon him, and all our words of counsel fell on deaf ears. Full bitingly

have you chastised him and the gods that preside over the founts of chastity have drunk deep of your blameless ire. Princess Perundevi, pure and true, is a suppliant at your feet. Have compassion, therefore, daughter great of the Pandyas!"

While Karna was thus wearing down the wrath of Alli, word was brought to the Queen of Sri Krishna's arrival at her gates and the Amazon herself went out to receive him with the utmost honours. Conducting him to a seat beside Karna, the Queen asked her son Pulandhara to come forward and do obeisance to both her guests. While ready to prostrate himself before Sri Krishna, the spirited boy demurred strongly to honour Karna, a charioteer's foundling thus. The mother went up to him and in a low but intense tone rebuked his contumacy pointing out how this foremost of warriors was none other than his uncle, which secret she learnt from Sri Krishna at the time He forced Arjuna (his father) upon her, and so it was his duty to show meet reverence unto him. His scruples thus dispelled, the boy-hero went up to where the two sat and prostrated himself before each.

The chivalrous ruler of Anga lifted up the bright youth and embracing him fondly, kissed him on either cheek and drew him on to his lap where he kept him for a while stroking gently his perfumed curls.

The Queen who at this time had commenced a recital of the events that gave rise to her resolve to punish, as no other man was punished till then, the caitiff ruler of Hastinapur, for his dastardly attempt on Subhadra's chastity, cut short her narrative the moment she saw the affection which Karna displayed towards her darling son, and summoning the expectant artisans, commanded the hooks and clamps that pinioned Duryodhana to be loosened, and the ghastly figure of the victim to be lifted off the ladder and laid on the ground.

Gently releasing the boy, Karna stood up and sought permission of the Queen to let the attendants who had come with him remove the unconscious monarch to a palanquin that was awaiting to receive him. The Queen made no objection. Bidding farewell to both her guests, she retired from the hall of audience accompanied by her courtiers.

The King of Anga had the lacerated body of his master conveyed tenderly to the silken couch in the palanquin, and attending then and there to the staunching of the oozing crimson, took his slow way back to Hastinapur.

Arrived there, Duryodhana's recovery was tardy but certain. Perundevi's unwearied vigil in the intervals of the best surgical skill in all Aryavarta brought round to the normal the health of the Hoister of the Serpent Flag, whose unbridled passion invited on his head his awful ride "Up the Ladder".

MUNDAKOPANISHAD.

BY D. VENKATARAMIAH, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

(Continued from Vol. XVI, No. 2.)

SECOND MUNDAKA.

Second Section.

- * 1. Illuminator, manifest in speech
And thought, reputed moving spirit within
The great receptacle in which this all
Doth find refuge—all that flies and all
That breathes and blinks ; know ye the Lord, who is
And yet is not. He is adorable
Beyond men's intellect's reach, supremely great.
- † 2. Resplendent, tiniest mid the tiniest
Highest mid the highest in whom the worlds
Are lodged and eke their dwellers. This's the Lord
Imperishable. He is life-breath, speech,
And mind and He the Truth, immortal He.
Discern Him thus and rest your mind in Him.

* This section describes how the invisible, imperishable Being can be understood. The identity of the individual self with the secondless Brahman cannot be comprehended by mere teaching. We have to practise the special means enjoined for its realization. Conditioned by sight, hearing, cogitation and comprehension Brahman manifests itself (अविर्भूतं). It is the one refuge for every conceivable object of creation. All are centred in Brahman like spokes in the hub of a wheel. Apart from Him no existence can be postulated for anything that is gross or subtle. Because He is eternal, He is adorable. Ordinary human intellect cannot compass Him. Free from any taint, He is perfect.

Cp. यदस्ति यद्भाति तदात्मरूपं नान्यत्ततो भाति न चान्यदस्ति ।

स्वभाव संवित्प्रतिभाति केवलं ग्राह्यं ग्रहितेति सृष्टैव कल्पना ॥

Whatever exists, whatever manifests itself, that is only Atman : apart from Him none other manifests itself, none other exists.

The one absolute consciousness it is that manifests itself and all our notions of a knowable object and a knowing subject are a myth.

† Like pots of clay the sun and other heavenly orbs are non-sentient and derive their luminosity only from God. The epithet 'अणुभ्योऽणुः' indicates that God cannot be seen by our physical eyes and yet He is not to be supposed to be of the size of an atom ; the letter च implies that He is also the highest among the highest.

- *3. Now seize the bow, the mighty weapon, straight
 From midst the armoury of Upanishads
 And fix thereon the shaft with pointed edge
 Made sharp by penance long ; then bend the bow
 With mind unswerved from thought of Him, the Lord,
 Miss not the aim, my friend, the Endless Being.
- *4. The sacred Om is the bow, Atma the shaft
 And Brahman its mark ; now shoot with alert aim ;
 Behold ! as in the quarry the shaft is lost
 So in the Lord the Atma merges quite.
- †5. In whom the resplendent region of the Gods
 The mortal earth and sky embracing lie
 With mind and speech and breath and senses all,
 Know Him O, ye disciples true as one
 Without a second. Knowing Him forsake
 All works. He is the bank to immortal bliss.
- ‡6. As all the spokes in the centre of the chariot wheel
 Do meet, e'en so the arterial ducts in the heart,

* In understanding the figure we have to bear in mind its appropriateness. The Absolute whose nature we have to comprehend is the target, *Pranava* or the mystic *Om* delineated in the Upanishads is the mighty bow while the *Atma* or individual soul is the arrow. Sharpened by continuous reflection and meditation the soul (*Atma* or the conditioned Brahman) should be directed towards Brahman or in other words by withdrawing the senses from outer objects and throwing the mind inwards one should seek union with the Absolute. As the arrow shot from the bow is lost in the quarry so is he, perfected by '*Pranavopasana*', merged in Brahman. The individual soul here compared to the arrow is no other than Brahman whose real nature is shrouded by *Avidya* (ignorance). Hence the object aimed at is *itself*. This being so one should free oneself from all desires arising out of the attractions of the world, scorn all delights, subdue the senses and with steadied mind hit the mark, *i.e.*, the Brahman. When this is accomplished one becomes lost in Him; तन्मयो भवेत्, becomes identical with Him losing all individuality.

† As it is not easy of comprehension, the nature of Brahman is again described. He is to be understood as the all-embracing unity—the one without a second. The text says "Know Him as *Atma*, (*i.e.*, as the inner self of all beings) and discard the ceremonial taught in the *Karmakanda* (अन्यावाचोविमुञ्चथ)." For crossing the great ocean of *Samsara*, *Atmajnana* is the only means.

Cp. "तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय"—

Knowing Him thus (as the inner self) he overcomes death; none other path there is that leads to the final abode.

‡ The seat of *Atman* is the heart. He manifests himself as though seeing, hearing, thinking, understanding and as subject to the feelings of anger and joy, and all this

The Lord doth move therein in varied moods ;
Cherish Him as the self-same *Om* ; blessed ye
To reach the shore beyond the darkling sea.

- *7. And Omniscient is the Lord embracing all
Within his ken ; His glory fills the earth,
He dwells as Atman in the lucent heart
He is all mind, propeller of subtle life,
Inheres in food, remaining close to the heart ;
And knowing this the regenerate souls
Perceive the Being as Eternal Bliss.
- †8. The knot that binds the heart doth burst and doubts
Are all dispelled and the deeds of by-gone births
Consumed when the dawning comes and the man perceives
The Absolute as cause and effect both.

because of the limitation (उपाधि) of अन्तःकरण. Hence it is common for people to say 'he has become glad, he has become angry' but in reality He is pure and unaffected. The teacher enjoins on his disciples the duty of concentrating their thoughts on 'Om' and wishes them God-speed in reaching the other bank or in other words in realizing the oneness of Atman with the Supreme, freed from the darkness of ignorance. 'परस्तात्' is also explained as meaning मदुपदेशाद्ध्वं, after my teaching is over, i.e., may success attend you to realize Brahman when you have understood my teaching.

* The glory of the Lord and His all-embracing character are emphasized. By His command earth and heaven exist, sun and moon revolve like flaming discs, rivers and oceans exceed not their bounds, the moving and immovable bodies are controlled; alike the seasons, the solstices and years disobey not his behests; so also the doers, the deeds and their fruition all keep to their appointed time. This glorious Lord has made the human heart His home. For those who have received initiation and practised virtues essential for *Brahmajnana*, concentration on the Lord of all might, all knowledge and all glory as seated in one's heart-lotus is the sure means of enlightenment.

† What is the reward that awaits the seer who understanding the scripture is convinced of the identity of himself with the Absolute? All cravings and desires that have found harbour in his heart will be destroyed ('कामायेऽस्य हृदिश्रिताः'), doubts and fears that constantly assail men like the continuous current of a stream vanish, and all the accumulated deeds of untold births which but for true knowledge would go on yielding their results in successive future births will be consumed as in a flame. It is to be understood that the enlightened man, जीवन्मुक्त, has to submit himself to the consequences of those deeds which, as the cause of his present birth, have begun to bear fruit (प्रारब्धकर्म). Other deeds of previous births and those done prior to the awakening are all destroyed.

परावरे. — Brahman, viewed as the universal cause is *Para*; viewed as the inner self of all creation is *Avara*.

- *9. On the purest resplendent lotus-throne
The stainless incorporeal Being sits,
The holy of holies, Light of all the lights,
And such a one the seers know forsooth.
- †10. And Him the sun illumines not nor moon
Nor stars nor all the thunder-bolts ; what then
Of fire ? Of Him, the luminous Self, all these
Their shining virtue take. 'Tis He that lends
Effulgence to the world from His own light.
- ‡11. Brahma is all, Brahma the Immortal Lord
In front is He, behind is He, to South,
To North, below, above, extended far
Aye, all this creation vast is Brahma great.

THIRD MUNDAKA.

First Section.

- §1. A brace of bright-winged birds as comrades dwell
In proximity close on the self-same tree,
And one of them the savoury fruit doth eat
The other not but constant witness bears.

* *Antahkarana* (अन्तःकरण) or consciousness in which the Divinity is reflected, is aptly described as the seat of glory, a pure white lotus-throne. Notice there is absolutely no anthropomorphic conception of Divinity. God is pure, incorporeal and holy. He is resplendence itself and as such illumines all illuminating bodies like the sun and other celestial orbs. He is परंज्योति—the supreme splendour. The seers are such as have realized that the *Atman* is the साक्षिन्—the ground of the ego and not the ego (the empirical self)itself.

† *Atman* is self-luminous and the shining orbs derive their light from Him. Being of the nature of dead matter they have no power to manifest themselves. We have no testimony other than that of the *Atman* for the existence of the world. Here is a clear indication of the fundamentally idealistic character of the Upanishadic teaching.

‡ As Sankara says, any notion other than Brahma is nothing but the result of *Avidya* like the false notion of serpent in a rope. The sum-total of the teaching of Vedanta is that Brahma is the one Reality present everywhere. We may therefore be said to stumble on Divinity at every moment; only we fail to notice it engrossed as we are in our narrow interests.

§ It has been pointed out that the knowledge by which the Eternal Brahman is understood is the *Paravidya*. It is only by this knowledge that the thousand and one ills that coil round the heart snap and fall away. For the realization of the absolute *Yoga* or meditation described as the bow, etc., has been prescribed. This section sets forth other

- *2. And on that tree the one confounded lies
 In impotence and lamentation dire
 All forlorn. But when the awakening comes
 And he the other one sees—the Mighty Lord
 Whose glory is this world, his sorrow quits.
- †3. What time the enlightened one perceives the Lord
 Of golden hue, the Maker, Ruler great,
 Purusha, Brahma-born, he shall burn up
 Merit and sin and all heart-eating cares
 And reach that blessed state of equipoise.

aids such as truth, etc. Since the teaching is extremely difficult to comprehend, repeated emphasis is laid on it and a variety of illustrations is introduced to make it clear.

The two birds spoken of in this Mantra are *Jiva* and *Esvara*. Both of them are said to be perching on the same tree, *viz.*, the body. The former is क्षेत्रज्ञ who under the sway of *Avidya* enjoys the fruit of *Karma* which is of the nature of pleasure and pain and of surprising diversity. The latter, *Esvara* who is eternally pure, enlightened, liberated, omniscient and conditioned only by *Maya* is uncontaminated by *Karma* and its consequences. Like a King his function is only to command and watch.

‘सुपणौ’ may be taken to mean either the graceful entry into the body of *Esvara* as the ordainer and of *Jiva* as the ordained or two fine-winged birds. The *Jiva* is conditioned by *Avidya* and as such is bound to partake of the fruit of *Karma*, while *Esvara* is only associated with the primal nescience and is a mere witness of the doings of *Jiva*.

* So long as nescience lasts endless misery is man's lot. As a gourd cast on the sea becomes the play-thing of the tossing waves the *Jiva* is dashed about by a host of desires and disappointments for he mistakes the body itself for the soul and imagines that all that happens to the body as happening to himself. What more common than believing—I am this man's son, that man's grandson, I am lean, fat, virtuous, happy, miserable; he is born, dead, is joined by friends and relations and separated from them; I am powerless; my son is dead, my wife is gone, where is the good of my living? Thus sorrowing, bereft of reason, he revolves cast on the ceaseless wheel of *Samsara*. But when by rare merit earned in some one of his existences, he comes across a teacher who by his loving grace initiates him into the *Yojic* practice he by treading the path of harmlessness, rectitude, continence, charity, self-control, and even-mindedness, will perceive the Lord who is free from the bonds of *Samsara*, free alike from hunger, thirst, sorrow, illusion, old age and death and whose manifested glory pervades the world and then the awakened one realizes his identity with Him and is saved from being wrecked on the ocean of misery and grief.

For a fuller exposition of the first two *Mantras* in this section consult Sankara's Comment on *Brahma Sutra* 1-2-12.

† God is described as स्वमवर्ण, golden-hued or self-luminous.

ब्रह्मयोनौ, Brahman and Yonim or one from whom Brahma or Hiranyagarbha is born. If *Esvara* is meant then he is Brahma-born, *i.e.*, having the absolute as his substratum.

परमसाम्यं, absolute identity and not the identity (साम्यं) of pluralistic experience.

- *4. And He the Soul of souls this Esvara
Shines forth with all the concourse vast of beings;
And knowing Him the seer wise withdraws
From dispute vain, his sport in Atman pure,
In Atman lone his love, in endeavour high;
'Tis he the foremost midst the knowers great.
- †5. By constancy in truth the Atman is reached
Likewise in concentration of sense and thought,
In intuition clear and celibacy
This Atman who within the human frame
All luminous sits immaculate, and whom
The anchorites perceive, bereft of sin.
- ‡6. 'Tis truth alone that triumphs, falsehood ne'er
By truth the way is opened wide yclept
The divine road by which the sages great
March on from longings freed to where doth wait
The highest meed by truth's pursuers won.

* Esvara's glory is revealed in His creation as He is the stay of the Universe from Brahma down to a blade of grass. The seeker understands His true nature and comprehending his unity with Esvara ceases to indulge in disputation and in controverting erroneous views, for nothing exists in reality beside the Supreme to serve as a cause of dispute. So he sees nothing, hears nothing and knows nothing except *Atman*. He is आत्मक्रीडः—sporting in *Atman*; आत्मरतिः—delighting in *Atman*; क्रियावान्—treading the path of knowledge (ज्ञान), meditation (ध्यान), renunciation (वैराग्य). The term क्रियावान् here does not mean one who is engaged in ritual and sacrifices as external activity involved therein is inconsistent with a life of pure contemplation. According to *Advaita*, ज्ञान alone is the road to salvation and not ज्ञान associated with कर्म as held by the other schools of Vedanta. The latter is known as समुच्चयवाद. Sankara says 'नहितमः प्रकाशयोर्युगपदेकत्रास्थितिः संभवति' darkness and light cannot possibly co-exist.

† The charge that the Vedanta ignores moral discipline is groundless. A high sense of duty and unswerving adherence to a lofty ethical code are indispensable for the attainment of God-hood. The insistence on a life of purity is clear in this *Mantra* as in several others. Perfect rectitude (सत्यं), concentration of mind (तपः), true knowledge (सम्यग्ज्ञानं) and continence (ब्रह्मचर्यं)—these practised constantly (नित्यं) and not intermittently lead one to the realization of God.

‡ सत्यं and अनृतं are abstract terms put for the concrete. The truth-teller succeeds and not the liar. It is of general acceptance that truth is stronger than falsehood, and that ultimately the honest man triumphs over one who is dishonest. The scripture also is clear on this point. The path-way of the Gods, देवयान,—is paved with truth and it is along this path that the seers, ऋषयः—free from कुहकं—deceit, माया—dissimulation, शाठ्यं—miserliness, अहंकारः—conceit, दम्भः—arrogance, अनृतं—falsehood, walk heavenward-bound.

- *7. And vast He is and luminous, and hard
To comprehend, far subtler than the subtlest
So shines the Lord, farther than the farthest,
And yet is here and near in sentient beings
'Stablished in the recess of the heart.
- †8. Eye hath not seen Him, words of their purpose fail
Eke other senses, meditation, works ;
Pellucid mind, unsullied heart—with these
The devotee perceives the partless One.
- ‡9. And this ethereal self is grasped with thought
Inward turned to where the vital airs
In channels fine converge and where the Lord
Doth shine in the purified human heart
By spirit infused with all the senses five.

* To men of little understanding God is incomprehensible and is farthest removed but to the wise He is intimate as dwelling within themselves and reflected as consciousness itself.

अचिन्त्यरूपं—His form is inconceivable because He cannot be cognized by any of the senses.

सूक्ष्मात्, सूक्ष्मतरं—He is subtler than ether because He is the ground of all.

विभाति—He shines as sun and moon being their very essence.

निहितं गुहायां—Reflected in the cave of the heart, i.e., *buddhi* or mind where consciousness manifests itself.

† As the Infinite Being cannot be comprehended by the ordinary means the special and the only instrument by which that Being is understood is here mentioned. It is ज्ञानप्रसाद, thorough conviction unassailed by doubts and difficulties. The Lord cannot be seen by the eye as He is formless, He cannot be understood by any description as He possesses no features which words can connote nor is He attained through the instrumentality of other senses (देवैः), penance (तपसा), and works (कर्मणा) such as the performance of *Agnihotra*, etc. Though all men possess intelligence (अंतःकरण) which by its nature is capable of reflecting the *Atman*, it fails to show Him in His true nature being sullied by contact with desires relating to external objects. It resembles a mirror covered with dirt or an agitated sheet of water. It is only when the disturbing factors cease to operate that the purity of intelligence results. Then is *Atman* perceived.

ध्यायमानः—One who concentrates his mind on God, withdrawing the sense-activities and pursuing a righteous course. He is the real devotee.

‡ The meaning of this stanza is rather involved. The subtle *Atman* can be understood only with the aid of *Jnana* (thought). Where is He to be found ? He is seen reflected in the heart where the breath in its five aspects, प्राण, अपान, व्यान, समान, उदान, has entered. What is the nature of *Jnana* ? Just as fat inheres in milk, fire in a piece of wood, so does *Jnana* suffuse the entire heart (चित्त) and the senses. That *Jnana* pervades the heart, etc., is a matter of common experience. Still it is only in the purified heart that the *Atman* is seen reflected through the instrumentality of *Jnana* (चैतन्य).

- *10. Whatsoever world the man of purest heart
Doth covet, whatsoever desires may spring
Within his mind, he shall attain that world
And those desires shall find. The seeker then
Of mighty powers must honour him—the knower.

Second Section.

- †1. The enlightened one doth comprehend the Lord
The Being perfect, sole receptacle
Wherein the Universe is held, who shines
Resplendent. They who devoutly serve the seer
Abandoning all desires, the spirits bold
Shall step beyond the reach of recurring births.
- ‡2. Whoso longs for gains his mind reposed therein
By those desires enmeshed his births shall take;
Of him whose wishes fulfilled rest, whose self
A purer plane has reached his covetings all
In annihilation end while yet in life.

* When a man perceives the universal *Atman* within himself he attains all that he desires, for nothing is that is not his. He has only to think of reaching a particular region like that of the *pitris* or of possessing such and such objects he will at once achieve his aim. He as such deserves honour from all who wish to acquire mighty powers (अणिमा, महिमा, etc.).

The results accruing from devotion to a personal God are here extolled with a view to stimulate effort for the attainment of Nirguna Brahma.

† Those who cast off all desires and apply themselves to the service of the Sage (आत्मज्ञ) escape from the bonds of *Samsara*—शुक्. The life-principle, the root-cause of all organism, is here used to mean 'birth'. He who has realized the Brahman, as is stated further on, is thought of as identical with Brahman himself. Hence the statement in the text that honour done to him secures freedom from bondage. In the previous *Mantra* the worship of the knower of Brahman (ब्रह्मज्ञ) was mentioned for the purpose of attaining worldly greatness. Here the same means is represented as leading to freedom from *Samsara* when the thought of worldly gain is totally absent.

भाति शुभ्रं—Brahman shines gloriously by his own light.

अकामाः—Those who hunger not for worldly goods; men who long for liberation.

‡ Sankara notes that for the seeker after God there is no other course left open except the abandonment of desires. A man who is longing for the things of this or the other world is doomed to take on births amidst such surroundings as are determined by the desires that have dominated his present life. He cannot escape from the current of *Samsara*. But he who is आत्मकाम (whose sole object of love is *Atman*) has all his desires

- *3. Nor discourse high nor prowess of mind nor all
The teaching often heard this *Atman* great
Can e'er procure but he who straightway seeks
The Lord, shall access find for then to him
Revealed the *Atman* shines in his pristine state.
- †4. Nor one of feeble mind does *Atman* find
Nor when obsessed by all the worldly cares
Nor e'en by knowledge great if attended not
By anchorite vows. But the soul of the saint who seeks
These rightful means shall reach the Divine Home.
- ‡5. And knowing Him the seers great, possessed
Of peace that wisdom brings, with cultured hearts
And void of all desires, their senses stilled,

satisfied, for there is nothing else for him to covet. He is पर्याप्तकाम and कृतात्मा (cultured soul), one who has shaken off nescience. It is the knowledge that his own soul is *para* that has uplifted him from desires of every kind. In his case the root-cause of deeds, be they virtuous or vicious, will be destroyed while yet he is in this body.

* Since the finding of *Atman* is the highest aim in life it may be supposed that much effort by way of study is needed. But it is answered that the most coveted *Atman* cannot be won by a mere mastery over the Vedas nor by cultivating mental strength nor even by frequent listening to the teaching. It is the direct approach that enables one to realize the Infinite. The study of the Vedas presents Brahman as an *object* of knowledge, i.e., mediately; according to *Advaita* Brahman is to be understood as in essence one with the subject. The seeker is the sought. This is just the idea contained in the third *pada*. यं marks the object of seeking and तेन the subject. Both are one. तेन must be taken as referring to यं, not to एषः.

नबहु नाश्रुतेन—Anandagiri notes that the exclusion of studies is with reference to all Sastras except the *Upanishads*. The direct seeking वरणं means a constant effort to realize the identity of one's self with Paramatma : परमात्माऽस्मीत्यभेदानुसंधानं ।

† You cannot attain God-hood if you are feeble, if you are negligent and devote all your energies to mundane acquisitions, like cattle, children and wealth, nor if you merely pursue knowledge without the spirit of renunciation. Whoever seeks God with the vigour that is born of divine fervour, with whole-hearted devotion and with utter abnegation of self shall enter the region of Brahman.

‘तपः’, knowledge conjoined with लिङ्ग, *Sanyasa* alone can bring salvation. Anandagiri understands by *Sanyasa* not the outward formal assumption of asceticism but the inward spirit of abnegation for he says that Indra, Janaka, Gargi and others were really knowers of Brahman though they had not entered the order of *Sanyasa*. What is more important is the spiritual regeneration and not the outward symbol.

Cp. ‘नलिङ्गं धर्मकारणं.’ It is not the cowl that makes the monk.

‡ How the sages finally enter into the Brahman is here explained. Satisfied with Divine knowledge and not with the external means which minister to the needs of the body,

These heroic souls with unperturbed minds
Shall meet the boundless all-pervading Lord
And merge in Him who is the Absolute.

- *6. And holding firm the sifted truth that rests
On wisdom sprung from Vedantic lore and e'er
Intent on the Supreme Self, renouncing all,
With stainless hearts, attaining immortal bliss,
In Brahman quite they merge at the ebb of life.

having understood that their individual souls are verily of the nature of Parabrahma, free from all taint of desires and their sense-activities all subdued, the seers find the omnipresent Lord who is free from all limiting conditions and who is immanent like ether. Finally when this muddy vesture falls they are absorbed in the Absolute even as the space held in a vessel becomes one with the universal space the moment the vessel breaks.

* वेदान्तानां प्रत्यक् ब्रह्मैव यं विषयः— the subject-matter of Vedanta is the oneness of the individual soul and the Brahman; *Cp.* तत्त्वमसि, अहंब्रह्मास्मि. In the case of those who have renounced all mundane desires and attained purity of heart all earthly ills vanish for even in life they have realized the Absolute.

परान्तकाले.—What is death to an ordinary mortal is the end of *Samsara*, the cessation of re-births, to a *Jivanmukta*.

परामृताः—Those who have realized while yet on earth their identity with the Supreme.

परीमुच्यन्तिसर्वे.—They cast off all the *rasanas* (tendencies) that the *Jiva* has accumulated so that no trace of them will be left to again deflect the *Jiva* on the current of *Samsara*.

This is real *Moksha*. Just as the light of a lamp when blown out merges in the broad day-light, or as the space enclosed in a vessel merges in the universal space when the vessel is broken, so does the individual soul lose its separateness and becomes one with the Lord when the trammels of *Avidya* are cast off. *Moksha* does not require going hence to any other region.

Cp. (i) “शकुनीनामिवाकाशे जले वारिचरस्य च ।

पदं यथा न दृश्यत तथा ज्ञानवतां गतिः ॥”

Invisible are the foot-prints of birds in the air and of fish in water, so also the foot-prints of the enlightened souls (because they are not journeying to any other world).

(ii) “अनध्वगा अध्वसु पारयिष्णवः” They have no road to travel who wish to cross the road of *Samsara*.

Any journey in space is in relation to *Samsara* only. If Brahman were conditioned by space, then like any other concrete substance having a beginning and an end, He would be dependent on something else, would consist of parts, would be transient and be the outcome of some agency. But Brahman is not of this nature. Hence reaching Him does not mean journeying to any particular region. It is merely the freeing oneself from the bonds of nescience, involving no specific outward action. “The Kingdom of God is within you.”

- *7. The elements ten and five retrace their way
To find their home from whence they spring; alike
The senses all their dissolution seek
Each in its parent home and all the deeds
And the separate Self, in Him the Supreme Lord,
The Imperishable, their oneness find.
- †8. As the flowing streams in the ocean lose their selves
Their names, their configuration all effaced
E'en so the regenerate man of name and form
Bereft doth merge in the shining Lord Supreme.
- ‡9. And he who really knows the Brahman great
Becomes himself the Brahman and in his sept
None ignorant of self shall e'er be born;
He crosses grief, he crosses sin and freed
From the knots that grip the heart immortal becomes.

* At the time of liberation all the elements whose collocation has resulted in the body (gross and subtle) find their way back, each into its source. The grosser elements become merged in the subtler ones; the senses in the Devas as sight in the sun, hearing in ether, etc. Of the deeds, those which have begun to operate (प्रारब्धकर्माणि) must work themselves out even in the case of a seer while the accumulated deeds of his past births (संचितकर्माणि) are destroyed and the deeds of his present life will bear no fruit. The individual self loses its separateness and becomes one with the Supreme Lord who is imperishable, endless, whole, who is of the nature of *Akasa*, who is unborn, who knows no old age, immortal, fearless, rare, otherless, compact, having nothing external, who is secondless, Bliss and Peace.

विज्ञानमयः—*Jiva* (the individual soul) who mistaking the intelligence (बुद्धि) which is the product of *Avidya* as its own self enters into the different beings according to their *Karma*. The *Prasna Upanishad* mentions sixteen elements :—

5 bhutas, breath, sense-perception, birth, action, faith, sacrifice, meditation, mantra, mind, matter, body.

† Just as the Ganges and other mighty rivers having reached the sea disappear, their individuality no longer distinguishable, the enlightened person casting off both name and form which are the off-spring of *Avidya* finds his destination in the Luminous Being, the holiest of holies. It is evident that *Moksha* means the final release from the bonds of *Samsara* which have accompanied the individual soul through numberless existences.

‡ The objection is raised that many are the obstacles in the way of *Moksha* and any one of the infinite number of hindrances or even a Deity may lead the *Brahma-knower* (ब्रह्मवित्) away from Brahman. This is not valid for by knowledge (विद्या) which is the only means to *Moksha* all obstacles are removed. *Avidya* (अविद्या) is the one obstacle to *Moksha*. Further *Moksha* is eternal and is of the essence of Brahman. Hence he who while on earth realizes that he is no other than Brahman cannot miss the path and even the Gods cannot throw any obstacle in his way. He becomes their very self. Verily the

- *10. A *rik* (a Vedic Mantra) declares thus:—
 To men of righteous deeds and grounded well
 In scriptures, bent their thoughts on God
 Devoutly kindling Ekarshi Fire
 To them alone; to such as have performed
 Sirovrata may be taught this cult divine.
- †11. And this Eternal Truth the sage Angiras
 Of yore to Sounaka taught. Let him eschew
 Perusing this who initiation lacks.
 Obeisance to the revered sages great,
 Obeisance to the revered sages great.

knower of Brahman is Brahman itself. What is more, among his descendants not one will be found who is not a seeker after the Highest. He will be rid of all mental distress due to disappointments, transcend all cramping effects of deeds, good and bad (पाप्मानं धर्मा-धर्माख्यं). Having thus cast off all bondage he attains immortality.

* The teacher concludes the discourse by indicating the preparatory discipline that the knower of Brahman has to undergo. Unless the neophyte has proved his fitness to receive the teaching it ought not to be imparted to him. Of the duties enjoined one is the worship of the special *Agni* by name 'Ekarshi' and the other the performance of 'Sirovrata' which was perhaps a mystical ceremony requiring the initiated to carry a pan of live coals on his head. The name of the Upanishad, *Mundaka*, has reference to this symbolism. The injunction is laid down for the followers of Atharvaveda to which this Upanishad belongs. The gist of the *Mantra*, as Anandagiri observes, is that Brahmanidya ought not to be taught to the unworthy.

क्रियावन्तः—Morally ripe; श्रोत्रियः—well instructed in Vedic lore; ब्रह्मनिष्ठः—अपरब्रह्मनिष्ठः i.e., devoted to lower Brahman; श्रद्धयन्तः—possessed of faith.

† Sankara says that the teaching may be imparted to any one who desirous of attaining the supreme good and seeking *Moksha* approaches a *Guru* in a spirit of reverence and in the manner enjoined by the scriptures even as Angiras taught the Brahmanidya to Sounaka who sought him longing for eternity.

ART IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY BHAVACHITRA LEKHANA SIROMANI N. VYASA RAM, ESQ.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society)

SPEAKING or writing of the art of ancient India is becoming more and more common every day in our country. But, as it becomes more and more common, in the inverse ratio does the educative value of these efforts become less and less.

It was mentioned in the first lecture on the subject of Art to justify the course of procedure that would be adopted in the treatment of the subject of to-day. The main purpose of this lecture is not to provide you with a fund of information on this topic. It has been pointed out at the very outset that art in India was highly misinterpreted and misunderstood. It is the purpose of this lecture and the next to show how, where and to what extent it has been so done, so that it will enable you to understand things for yourselves without the aid of half-informed guides that have flooded the Indian platform to-day. It is a painful duty to stand up against misrepresentation or misunderstanding, whether conscious or unconscious.

The Position of the Art-Critic.

Before proceeding to details it would be necessary to describe what exactly is the standing ground of modern Indian art-critics. For a brief interval I shall request you to forget your selves and your environments and consider what I am going to put before you in the spirit in which those facts deserve to be considered.

There are in India, roughly speaking, two classes of art-critics. The official section of them have done some research in their own way and placed their opinions before the public. I do not feel very much attracted towards these opinions as they are not the outcome of a genuine admiration. There is little emotion that has stimulated the work. The whole process is a heartless one. Except as a means of rough information in some cases these researches need not keep us to any great extent.

Our real concern is with the second class of critics—those who, out of a genuine love for their task, and with a fiery resolve to re-establish the position of art in India, have spent their time, energy and money on the work. These patriots, fired with a strong zeal, have spared no efforts in the direction and to that extent this country owes to them an immense debt of gratitude. But these relentless workers are surrounded by ever so many handicaps. Not that we should discuss the ethical value of these handicaps but merely take

into consideration their very existence. In India, if one wishes to do any real research work his whole field of activity has to be mostly found within the four walls of temples. The best part of our study is always to be found within the shrine, or Holy of the Holies. As a general rule the Holy of Holies is very dark. Secondly even if it could be brightened with powerful lights, the priests in charge cannot easily be persuaded to let the images within be photographed. Even if they consent with great difficulty none but the privileged Brahmin can enter the shrine. And Brahmin research scholars are not many in these days when the professions, law and government service, promise large incomes to them. The few European and other Non-Brahmin research scholars must be content with second rate and third rate subjects for their study. Regarding the study of the theoretical aspect of ancient Indian art, the same fact holds good also. All available manuscripts on the subject are in Sanskrit and one need not comment much on the tragedy of Sanskrit literature in the hands generally of European scholars. It will not be out of place here to point out just a very small instance of gross misunderstanding as a result of an improper study of Sanskrit. One of the leading writers on art in Calcutta, a Hindu but not a Brahmin, wrote to the Tanjore library for some information and reference. The needed reference was supplied and as the art-critic did not know Sanskrit, evidently the librarian had to write to him in English the name of the chapter from which the extract was sent. The chapter in English transliteration was called "Sakalādhikāra". And the art-critic in his new volume made a reference to this ancient manuscript "Sakalādhikāra" as a book treating on all subjects of varied interest. Another student interested in the manuscript, ransacked the whole of the library catalogue in vain to find it out. And then on making enquiry, to his utter dismay, he was told that no such book existed; a fuller investigation on the subject revealed where the mistake lay. The art-critic meant the names of the chapter to mean सकलाधिकार and guessed it to be a book of miscellany. On the contrary it was only one chapter out of a bigger book, the chapter being called properly सकलाधिकार meaning thereby a chapter which treated about "that which had form and colour" (स—कला). And this was how authoritative art-criticism in India has been going on and further comment is superfluous. The question arises, consequently, how far these misinterpretations have to be taken as authorities.

There are yet two more points to be considered in this connection. The European, in general, finds pleasure in newness, in constant change. And when he saw that India of the past presented to him a hitherto-unknown aspect in art he went in raptures over it. And as fanaticism would have it,

the result was that everything that was previously tabooed Indian became to be regarded as the highest achievement. I have known of certain well-known critics of art among European ladies fall in love with works of art, over head and ears, even before seeing them, for the very name India was enough to guarantee their superiority.

The Need of the Age.

It must be remembered that we are living in an age of intellectual freedom. And any knowledge spread at this stage of human life must make its appeal direct to the intellect. It is meaningless that we should be asked to give up our traditional superstitions which were innocent in order to fall into worse and harmful ones. And anyone who observes the tendency of modern-art critics in India will not fail to realize the strong element of superstition in evidence. We must respect a thing not because it is Indian or European but because it is good and useful to humanity. In proportion to its usefulness to man all over the world has the value of anything to be judged, and not in proportion to its antiquity. One thing has always to be kept in mind, that in every country we can find both good and bad art and that good art is not the monopoly of any one particular country in the world. And to realize this the student must approach his subject with an absolutely impartial vision. It is not enough if the vision alone is impartial. The method of study must be scientific. For the method of study to be scientific the student must first know for himself the motion and purpose of his very study. When this is realized you may depend upon it that the fruits of such labour will be sound and genuine. But alas! how many students approach their subject with such clear ideas on their needs and motives! One thing above all the student has to remember, that if his motive be to benefit his fellowmen, he must appeal to their intellect and reason. The world is growing more and more scientific every day and less superstitious. At every step it demands conviction. And unless the appeal can meet the demands of growing intellect it will but fall flat on the ears of those for whom it is intended. And it is for this purpose that the student must necessarily adopt as we have already mentioned.

A Scientific Method of Study.

This requires that the student must know what to expect from his subject. Most critics satisfy themselves by thinking and saying that "certain works of art are superb examples of suggestive expression". As mentioned in my first lecture the use of vague and undefined abstract terms does not satisfy the growing need of the sincere but intelligent student. The purpose of this lecture is to give such general and broad hints as will enable independent study and formation of correct judgments upon things.

The first factor to be taken into consideration for a scientific method of study is "general principles". Art is a language more universal in scope and capacity than any other. The first question to investigate, then, is whether it serves this primary purpose of expression. It is not expression of a very general type that is looked for, but expression of the ideals and thoughts of a particular nation through the medium of art. To know if a particular work of art is expressive or not, one must also consider the temperament of the people of that land who are to understand the idea of the artist. If the artist, by a certain method, succeeds in conveying a particular idea to his people, his work to that extent is a success. It is in this spirit that the first approach has to be made to the study of Indian art, the mentality of the people at that time, what *they* expected of art, and how far their expectations were satisfied, have to be considered.

The Philosophy of Indian Art.

Before further discussion of the philosophy of Indian art the existence of greater numbers of sculptural examples than examples in painting has to be justified. All over India one finds innumerable instances of Indian sculpture. But painting is very rare. There are only a few places like Ajanta and Sitannavalas where painting is used. Mr. E. B. Havell believes this to be due to the Indian artisan's faith in the theory of Karma or action, by which the artisan expects to be more richly endowed in heaven if he turned out a piece of sculpture which requires much more of hard physical labour than a painting. Mr. Havell does not pay a compliment to Indian mentality by this argument which seems so childish. If he believes that the Hindu had the greatest ideals in life and he realized them more keenly than any one else, it is funny to think that he could not make a better distinction between Karma and hewing granite.

On the contrary Hindu art divides the field into three main classes :— Uthama Silpa (उत्तम शिल्प), Madhyama Silpa (मध्यम शिल्प) and Adhama Silpa (अधम शिल्प). The first which belonged to the highest variety referred to sculpture in its entire form. The second which was neither good nor bad referred to bas-reliefs. The third which was a bad one (meaning thereby not the quality but the limited scope) referred to painting.

As a matter of fact, form is more permanent than colour which after all was only secondary and incidental. The truest representation would be that which portrays the nobility of form with all its permanent and not fleeting qualities. Here lies the difference between a painting and a statue. In a painting the effect of light and shade have to be produced by the use of colours. No doubt a realistic effect is achieved thereby. But the depiction of light and shade in colour has two disadvantages. On the one hand it shows the

object at a certain moment with the characteristics of that particular moment only. For if the light changed a little the difference would be considerable. Secondly, the artist wishes to portray a particular form. But in order to give relief to that form he has to depict also the existence of a shade which has no existence. It meant his requiring to portray things that did not have any separate existence at all and consequently untrue. But in a work of Sculpture both these limitations are set aside. It shows you the form as it is. The artist reproduces only the truth, and the untrue shade creeps in by itself as a result of the light around and gives the desired effect. It is for this reason, I am of opinion that painting was not very much encouraged in ancient India. It will be easy to realize consequently why, in paintings, the Indian artist did not display "correct shading" as the modern artist would put it. Thus far about the quality of media in art.

It is said that the main difference between European art and Indian art lies in this fact—that while the former meant by art representation, the latter meant interpretation. Both countries used art as a medium of expression, as a language. The one is said to be representation, the other interpretative. To the Western mind the appearance of things mattered most. The Eastern mentality did not think it worth while pausing too much over appearances. It wanted to approach the subject direct and with no delay. This was the cause of the origin of the use of symbolism in art. Since art was but a medium for the interpretation of great Truths of Life they made use of symbols for everything. It has been argued by some modern critics that the use of symbols is a round about method of getting at a subject while representation of things, as they are, speaks directly for itself. This, after all, is no plausible argument, as we must realize that modern civilization is becoming more and more a slave to worse symbolism than that of Indian art. There is no aspect of life that is not symbolistic. What is language, if not a symbol to convey ideas? What is shorthand but a symbol of a symbol? It is argued that the ancient Indian had not much of a love of Nature and hence he was unable to realize its beauties, as a result of which he was satisfied with crude symbolism that would horrify all modern ideas of æsthetics.

That love of Nature did not exist in the Indian is too big a pill for any one to swallow. The very fact that our forefathers selected places like Ajanta, Elephanta, Ellora and Bagh for their artistic activities, Nalanda and Takshasila for their universities as against the existence of modern colleges and schools with factory smoke on one side and the market buzzle on the other is abundant proof to falsify an argument like that. There were three principles laid down for the artist to follow, as the most important ones.

The first insisted upon the choice of such environment as his temperament and work needed. The second demanded a perfect development of the faculty of artistic imagination. The third required the artist to identify himself with his subject and merge his consciousness in whatever aspect of nature that was to be interpreted. This clearly shows how much of stress was laid upon the influence of environment and it is no wonder that under such a system of perfect training they were able to produce masterpieces for the world to gaze in admiration for ever and for ever.

In ancient India, art was held in too sacred an esteem to be allowed for vulgar practice as in the present day. According to Sukracharya "it is always commendable for an artist to draw the images of the Gods. To make human figures is bad, and even irreligious. It is far better to present the figure of a God though it is not beautiful than to reproduce a remarkably handsome human face." Thus art had to confine its full scope to the expression and interpretation of the divine only. This necessitated the use of symbols. These symbols had come into existence even before the development of plastic art so that the people found no difficulty in understanding the idea of the artist. In the Vedic period, though much of plastic art was evidently not attempted, the literature of the time and the rituals in vogue, display wonderful artistic richness. And when plastic art came into more common use the same system of symbolism was adopted.

The Use of Symbolism.

Since their main purpose was to depict the life of the Gods the artists had to idealise the types that were to be used in such representation. The ideal of the superman, according to the literature of the day, was set before the artist. This ideal was endowed with a body like the lion, broad shoulders, thin waist and a huge majestic form. The lion was king of the beasts and it was not surprising that it provided the ideal type, specially when we know that the ancients were lovers of Nature and lived as happily in the wildest woods as we in our cramped mansions. Long arms were a necessary feature for that ideal (अजानुबाहु). This description of broad chest and shoulders and thin waist we can see in almost all images of the Gods down to the present day. The Gods were past the effects of hunger and sleep, labour and fatigue. Consequently muscular effects had to be suppressed to give our general Divine type, and rounded limbs and features were introduced. This was the divine shape idealised.

The next question was about the size. As the figures the artist carved or painted had to speak for themselves he had to adopt different standard sizes to distinguish between the Gods. For this purpose images were divided into various classes like the Bāla Mūrti, the Nara Mūrti and Asura

Mūrti and so on. The height and other measurements of each of these Mūrtis were specified. The proportion of their features to one another were definitely laid down. And the Gods were divided into these various mūrtis according as the nature of their position and duty demanded. For instance, the child Krishna and Ganesha were classified as Bāla Mūrtis; the teacher Krishna, Rama and others came under Nara Mūrtis and Narasimha was an Asura Mūrti.

Then came the idealization of the pose. Roughly three started poses were decided upon: Samabhanga (समभंग), Abhanga (अभंग) and Thribhanga (त्रिभंग). The one main principle was insisted upon always—that the image should always be seated or standing in a comfortable pose. The most comfortable pose is the first which is equal poised as we find in images of Dhyana, examples of which are seen in those of Dhyain Buddha and Avalokiteswara. Vishnu as a general rule stands in that same pose of equal poise, well balanced on both sides, and comfortable. The second one is slightly bent on one side and the third pose exhibits three bends in the form. This is the most difficult one for the artist to portray as it is rarely possible for a human body to be comfortably bent thrice. It was usually considered a mark of special distinction for an artist to portray an image in the Thribhanga posture without making it unnatural. We see some of the finest examples of Thribhanga in Siva as Nataraja, in a female figure from the eastern gateway of Sanchi and such others. Speaking of the Thribhanga pose it will be interesting to the student of art to know that the image of Mūla Rāma, (मूलराम) attributed to have been made by Shri Rāma himself, of which description mention is made in the Vasistha Ramayana, belongs to the Thribhanga variety. This image, of copper, a very beautiful figure for that pose, is still in possession of one of the Mutts of South India and is worth seeing as a piece of artistic study. The evidence of age upon the image is very clear but in spite of it, the image affords plenty of scope for artistic study. Thus pose was idealised.

Movement and action were represented by Asanas and Mudras. The art of dancing in India is full of religious symbolism as it expresses and depicts through the media of the various Asanas and Mudras the full lives and activities of Gods and Goddesses. Any one who has carefully studied the Hindu dances will not fail to realize how plainly any individual of normal intelligence can understand the significance of the various mudras used in the system. Thus the process of symbolization was complete. The shape of an image was symbolized; the size was symbolized; the pose was symbolized; action and movement were symbolized. And all put together was a very plain thing for any Hindu to understand. If an ordinary Hindu

saw in a particular series of sculptures something that attracted him he had only to see what mūrti it was, what pose had it, what asana and what mudra were represented. And just as the modern man can deduce that two and two make four, the old-fashioned Hindu, by observing these few symbols would explain to you the whole history of that image when it represented, under what circumstances, in the act of doing what and all the necessary details. But with the giving up of symbolism in modern art, the artist is called upon to explain his own pictures. This so-called direct explanation was supposed to be a more effective appeal to the public mind but what can compare with the deserted image in a forest, unattended and uncared for, that by its very appearance can converse with the stray visitor, about itself, without an explanatory card hanging about its neck? And this is why Havell rightly remarked that "it is only in the East that art still was a philosophy and still remains the great exponent of national faith and traditions."

It will not be out of place here to quote Ruskin's view of Indian symbolism, not that it is of any material importance but as a sign of the western mentality. Says he, speaking of Indian art, "*it never represents a natural fact.* It either forms its compositions out of meaningless fragments of colour and flowings of line; or if it represents any living creature, it represents that creature under some distorted and monstrous form. To all the facts and forms of Nature it wilfully and resolutely opposes itself; it will not draw a man, but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or a zig-zag." It is a pity that such a keen and sensitive student of art as he was, Ruskin failed to realize the same incongruity in paintings of Christian angels with wings on their shoulders, of Christ floating in the air above the mount between Moses and Elijah and a host of similar things. On the contrary, as Mr. Havell says, every artistic convention is justified, if artistically used, and if it expresses the idea of the artist.

Portraiture Discouraged.

That the genuine Indian artist disliked and discouraged portraiture is well shown in the law laid down by Sukracharya that "only images of Gods should be made, for they confer heaven and happiness; but the images of men and others shut the door of heaven and bring ill fortune." This, at its outside, appears a rank superstition but I shall try to convince you that there is much more sense in this warning than modern civilization is capable of understanding. It will be remembered that one of the principles of guidance for the artist as insisted upon by Sukracharya was the identification of himself by the artist with the subject intended for portrayal. Under the circumstances it can be easily inferred that if the artist identified himself with a divine type he himself is elevated, while by doing so with an ordinary

man with all his defects the consequences can never be desirable. It is not possible to bring about the proper expression without this process of identification as even modern portrait painters will admit. Sincere dramatists know what it is to produce "an effect" and how it is not possible without similar identification. They know equally well what are the consequences on themselves of such a process of identification. This same effect on the person in identifying himself with another is also felt by the mesmerist healer of diseases. In a hundred ways can it be proved even to-day that a certain perceptible effect on the artist is an inevitable consequence of his identifying himself with his subject. And it is because those wiser people realized the fatal consequences of an artist attempting portraiture, they laid a supreme and noble restriction on art. By this step they purified art, they placed the artist beyond the effects of evil company. This dignified position was never given to art in any other country.

What a mighty struggle must have taken place before artists in ancient India could have been persuaded to work portraits it is not difficult to imagine. There is a clear instance of a great musician devotee who had to suffer martyrdom for not consenting to sing the praise of a king. The story goes that one of the Alvars, a devotee of Shri Ranganatha at Conjeevaram, was a great poet-singer. His business was, day in and day out, to sing hymns in praise of his guardian deity. The king of the place once demanded of the poet a song in praise of himself which was refused. This resulted in the banishment of the poet. The latter went to take leave of his divine master. But Shri Ranganatha, loth to part with his best devotee, accompanied him the very night. A few miles from Conjeevaram the twain stayed for the night on the banks of the Palar, intending to pursue their journey at dawn. But when, at the usual time, the priest of the temple came to perform his regular pooja he found the deity missing. The complaint at once reached the ears of the ruler. Messengers were sent to all sides and news came of the God and his devotee resting on the river bank. The king went directly to beg the God return. But the latter was adamant and did not like to reside when his son could not. The king apologised to the two and requested them both to return. Similar instances we have without number in Indian literature when artists had refused to prostitute art to vulgar ends and suffered martyrdom in consequence.

But as times changed portraiture gradually became the order of the day, and with the advent of the twentieth century art meant portraiture.

Anatomy in Indian Art.

A word needs to be said on the use of anatomy in Indian art. It is believed that Indian artists did not study anatomy—in the sense in which the

European student studies it. There is an argument advanced by some critics that the Indian artist could not study anatomy because of the horror he had for vivisection. This argument does not hold good when we see the image of Ganesha in Java seated on a throne of human skulls, symbolising his descent from Siva, the lord of the cremation ground. These skulls are perfect representations which could not be the work of people who refused to study anatomy just because of the horror of vivisection.

On the contrary the cause is not in external feelings or sentiments but in the essential outlook upon life and art. The western artist, having nothing higher to aim at, sought for anatomy and proportion as the essentials of beauty. It was the Greek ideal which realized the perfect man in the proper display of muscular developments. But the Hindu ideal soared far higher than muscular beauty. Spiritual ascendancy and brilliancy was real beauty to them. Neither Lady Macbeth nor Cleopatra would the Hindu look upon as types of beauty. They had a within that scrupled against no sin or filth and their external beauty but mocked that dark within. It is the beauty of character, the beauty of self-sacrifice that was worth the name. And this was not to be found either in muscular growth or proportion. The face was the unfailing mirror and in making that mirror reflect the soul of the object portrayed, the artist had his whole scope. The body, its proportions and other features were only incidental. It was not worth the while of a genuine artist to waste his time on things that do not matter. Moreover, to be able to copy perfectly is no great achievement for the artist that made a masterpiece out of every stroke of the brush. The eye that saw deeply into the far beyond which it was not given to many to perceive, could not fail to see this silly difference in so-called anatomy or proportion. Examples without number could be pointed out which display remarkable keenness of observation and accurate representation.

And there was something greater in this. The Hindu had realized the significance of the law of Karma. He did not use this knowledge, as Mr. Havell points out unfortunately, to distinguish between hewing rough granite and drawing delicate brush strokes. But he used that knowledge at the right time in the right place. Life was too short, the work before man was too great. The hour that has struck has struck for ever and cannot be recalled. Every moment was a treasure which must be made the best use of. And while yet one's pulse beat it was one's duty to perform the right Karma that one might provide for one's eternal future. Was it worth while, under such circumstances for one to be wasting his time in trying to depict accurately every hair on the book of his image, while he could utilize that time in revealing yet another aspect of the glory of creation. In this outlook

depended the main difference between the East and the West. Who will fail to note the splendid expression of spiritual brilliance in the calm, serene and meditative head of the Buddha in Java or the Bodhisathva in the Ajanta Cave frescoes. The two heads, though they have been severed from their bodies, speak eloquently for themselves. Those who see these heads desire no more to see the bodies for they are unnecessary and superfluous.

Transformation of the Ideals.

Such were the high and noble ideals that formed the basis of Indian art in the times of Asoka and his successors, as is seen in the works of Bharhut, Sanchi, Elephanta and Ellora and in the paintings of the Ajanta Caves. This artistic movement, when it found its free growth arrested by the advent of Brahmin ritualism, spread its influences in the north in China and Japan, and reappeared about the eighth century A.D. in Java and Kambodia. The sculptures at Borobudur, in Java, must be considered as the culminating point of India's artistic progress. Indian art flourished under a free atmosphere until foreign invasions began to affect its ideals and progress.

With the advent of Moghul Dominion in India, sculpture received practically a death-blow in the north though it had no such check in its growth in the southern parts to such an extent. Islam forbade the making of statues. And with the new regime, architecture and painting received a double stimulus. The early Moghul period in India was one of architectural richness and the supremacy of portrait painting. When we realize that portraiture was becoming very common in this period we can understand how far the first Hindu ideal of art must have stooped down.

The Moghul Period.

Of all rulers of this period Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan were the best of patrons. During the reign of Akbar, it is said that every courtier was asked by the king to give a sitting for a portrait. Akbar, finding that Hindu artists were not enough for his work, invited various Persian artists to his Court. The Persian artists to some extent influenced the style and technic of the local artists but Indian art always maintained its own independent originality in spite of foreign influences. This was because the conquerors never considered themselves as alien to the Indians but always mingled up with their traditions and became one of them, so that art never felt any check in its progress, nor was it much influenced by other ideals. The same, however, cannot be said of the British dominion in India and it is no wonder that Indian art began to degenerate during this period.

While the high religious ideal came down to be substituted by portraiture another marked change in Indian painting also took place during this period. The broad and bold effects of fresco painting gave way to a more handy

method of work—miniature painting. But the ideal of expression of character was not much changed as will be seen in the example of portraits still available.

During the reign of Jehangir perhaps Moghul art had reached its zenith. It is said that Jehangir was mad after paintings and he prided himself on his being a connoisseur of the highest order. He seems to have often mentioned that by the style of any painting he could name the artist. When a number of artists had collaborated in one work Jehangir was also sure of pointing out the various parts that were done by different artists. During his time began perhaps the first importation of western portraits in oil colours which struck the Moghul Court as of remarkable merit. During this period very great attention was being paid to the minutest details and no subject was considered too mean for a painting as can be seen in the examples of the white crane and the turkey, two paintings by Jehangir's artists which he was immensely proud of—and rightly. A number of book illustrations, both Hindu and Muhammadan, seem to have been done under royal patronage during this period.

The encouragement that artists received during this period from the State was of no mean order. Lovers of art of a high order as they were, the Moghul Emperors of the early period lost no opportunity of encouraging local talent. They esteemed art highly and numerous artists were under imperial employ. They were done immense honours by the Emperor and were treated as courtiers. It is said that the artists so employed during this regime were paid from rupees two hundred to a thousand rupees per month, which in modern currency must be much greater.

Conclusion.

The accession of Aurangzeb, the puritan, struck the first note of the downfall of Indian art. The other field that art found under this persecution was among the Rajputs. But Rajput painting of this period had begun to be stiff and rigid and gradually losing expression. This change in Indian art from easy, graceful movements to a lifeless rigidity must be taken as a premonition of the rigid life of cold formality that was to come, and the substitution of the noble ideals in art by base ones was anticipated at that time and fulfilled later as we see clearly everywhere about us. How the Indian ideals were substituted by western ones and what were the effects thereof is out of the scope of the present lecture but will be treated in the next one.

As mentioned already the purpose of this series is not to provide a fund of historic information. Such information can be had anywhere in plenty. Further an attempt has been made to point out the main characteristics that distinguished the art of ancient India above all other countries.

It has to be pointed out at this juncture that still Indian art is a thoroughly unexplored field. The handicaps in the way of the art student is already pointed out. That there is plenty of material yet to investigate, goes without saying. So far as is known there are a number of unpublished manuscripts of immense value yet available for him who wants. In Madura, there is a family of hereditary sculptors who are in possession of manuscripts on the subject. In a few villages round about Pondicherry are scattered about similar families with literature of a high order. The Kamakoti Peetha Mutt of Sankaracharya at Kumbakonam have in their possession a good collection of them yet unknown to public view. In Conjeevaram is a family in possession of similar works on the subject. The question is who will undertake this research.

If anything substantial is to be done it must be from the native states of India and as Mr. E. B. Havell rightly points out, referring to Rajputana and Mysore, "herein at present lies the best if not the only hope for Indian art". How far such encouragement will be received from either of these states is yet a matter of speculation. But with a ruler so keenly interested in the development of the finer side of life as His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, it cannot be doubted that art will once again receive the mighty impetus as it did of old. And the glory and credit will be yours in leading and establishing the artistic regeneration, in the words of Mr. Havell, of "the India that is beautiful, the beauty that is India."

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, No. XIII.—ON AN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE INDIAN KOEL.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE Indian Koel (*Eudynamis honorata*—Linn) is a very familiar bird well-known to every resident in India. The colour of the males of this species of Cuckoo is black throughout with a bluish-green gloss.

It is found throughout India, Ceylon, and Burma extending through the Malayan Peninsula to the Philippine Islands.

Though it is shy and unobtrusive in its habits, it is more sociable than the common Hawk-Cuckoo. It lives mostly upon the trees and seldom descends to the ground. When in quest of food, it comes down to the earth only for a moment to carry away any food it has found.

Its call-note is beautiful and melodious. It calls sweetly even when it is living in a state of captivity. During the breeding season, it calls beautifully especially during the night time when there is moon. Its call-note is *ku-il, ku-il* which is repeated several times increasing in intensity and ascending in the scale. Dr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., says:—"It has another call like *ho-y-o* uttered by the male alone." During the breeding season which lasts from March or April till July, the call-notes of this bird may be heard from every grove.

It lays its eggs in May and June in the nests of the crows, generally *corvus splendens*.

The Bengali name of this bird is *Kokil*; while its Hindi appellation is *Koel*.

The well-known poet, the late Srijut Satyendra Nath Datta has written, in Bengali, an exquisitely beautiful poem entitled: "*Ku*" or "The Koel's cry" wherein he has sought to analyse the feelings which prompt the Indian Koel to utter its cry of "*Ku*" or, as Dr. W. T. Blanford has phrased it, "*Ku-il*". I give below an English translation of this poem:—

STANZA I.

In the spring's first dawn, the southerly wind began to blow for the purpose of waking up the flowers. Who is he who, being transported with joy, is crying out "*Ku*" every moment to-day?

STANZA II.

I believe that the soft diffused light and the soft delightful breeze have filled him with transports of joy. In consequence thereof he has forgotten

such disagreeable matters as quarrels, vexatious feelings of irresolution and sorrow. I believe that it is for these reasons he is incessantly crying out "Ku".

STANZA III.

He has to-day spread out his wings and is flying about. He has seen visions of superb beauty. The wind, laden with the pollen of the mango-blossoms, has maddened him with exhilarating joy. I believe that it is for these reasons he is repeatedly calling out "Ku".

STANZA IV.

God has made him black-coloured and has doomed him to remain silent during the dewy and the rainy seasons. Notwithstanding these defects, he loves the world and its people. Under the influence of these feelings of love, he cries out "Ku".

The undermentioned ætiological myth, which is current in Western India, accounts for the evolution of the Indian Koel:—

King Daksha held a great *Yajna* or sacrifice to which he did not invite his daughter Sati or Parvati and her husband Śiva.

Feeling herself greatly insulted by this omission, she went uninvited to her parental home and remonstrated with her father about it. Daksha replied that, as his son-in-law associated with ghosts and spirits and mixed in disreputable company, he thought it proper not to invite the latter. On this, a great dispute arose between father and daughter and feelings ran high. The result of this was that, feeling indignant, she burnt herself in the sacrificial fire.

As Sati or Parvati had committed the sin of polluting the sacrificial fire, she had to atone for it. She was, therefore, metamorphosed into the Indian Koel (Eudynamis honorata). Śiva said that she would have to remain in the form of this bird for a period of one thousand celestial years, after which she would re-assume her human form and would, then, be re-accepted as his wife.

In memory of this event, the Hindu womenfolk of the Western Presidency perform a folk-rite which is known by the name of *Kokila-vrata* or "the Folk-rite connected with the Indian Koel". The rites connected with its performance are as follows:—

On the full moon day in the intercalary month of Ashadha (June-July), they bathe in the morning in the nearest river, tank or sea, worship the deities in the temples situated in the vicinity and, then, return home. After their return home, they worship a golden image of the Koel provided with eyes made of rubies and with legs made of silver. If the celebrants of the worship cannot afford the expense of a golden image, they make a figure

or representation of this bird with pounded sesame (or *tīl*-seed) and worship it. They also worship the living bird if they can procure a specimen of it. They have to fast the whole of the day till evening when they break their fast by taking one meal only on the distinct condition that they have heard the Koel's cry in the course of that day. But in case they have not heard it, they must not take any food at all on that day. These rites are performed daily for a period of one month.*

On a careful study of the preceding myth, we find that the ancient Hindu myth-maker has commemorated in it the memory of an incident which was the result of a feeling of righteous indignation.

* *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*. By V. A. Gupte, B.A., Calcutta and Simla, Thacker Spink & Co., 1919, pages 106—108.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, No. XIV.—ON A MYTH ABOUT THE HOUSE-SPARROW.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE House-Sparrow (*passer domesticus*.—Linn) is known in Bengali under the name of *chodāi* or *chata*, while its Hindi appellation is *Gowriyā*. It is found almost all over India. It extends through Western Asia into Europe.

The sparrow is also very common in Palestine where it is well-known to be one of the smallest and least valuable of all birds. To this fact we may ascribe the force of the expression : "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing ?" (Matt. x : 29 ; Luke xii : 6), then again, the Psalmist compares himself, in Ps. cii : 7, to "a sparrow alone on the house-top". But this bird is not one that sits and pines in solitude. A distinguished naturalist suggests that the bird referred to by the Psalmist is a species of thrush.

As will appear from the undermentioned myth, the sparrow is stated, in popular legend, to have been present on Mount Calvary at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The myth is as follows :—

In Russia, the sparrow has a malevolent reputation. It is alleged that, at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, when the soldiers were doubting as to whether or not the Saviour was still living, the swallow twittered out "*Ummer, Ummer*," that is to say, "He is dead ; He is dead". But the sparrows cried out : "*Jif, Jif*," that is to say, "He is living ; He is living", so that further torture might be inflicted by the soldiers upon the Saviour.

It is interesting to note that many other legends are related with respect to several other birds who are alleged to have been present at the time of Jesus Christ's crucifixion. At that time, the robin redbreast was a little brown bird and fluttered round Christ's crown of thorns from which it succeeded in extracting a spike. This eased the Saviour's pain a good deal. While extracting the spike, a drop of blood from the wound fell upon the robin's breast and dyed it crimson. Since then, the robin has been known as the robin redbreast in remembrance of its devotion to the Saviour.

A similar legend narrates that another little bird—the crossbill—rendered great assistance to the crucified Saviour. While He was nailed to the cross, this little bird hovered opposite the hands of Jesus, which were fastened to the cross by means of nails and put forth all its little strength in extracting those nails. The scarcely conscious Saviour blessed the little bird which had befriended Him so much in the time of His tribulation. Another

legend goes on to say that, before this time, this bird's beak was wholly straight; but that its repeated efforts to wrench out the nails from the crucified Saviour's hands crooked it crosswise.*

It will not be out of place to state here that, like the House-Sparrow, the Magpie also behaved in an unfriendly manner towards the crucified Saviour. The people of Scotland believe and say that, instead of relieving the sufferings of the crucified Jesus, the Magpie, which was originally endowed with beautiful plumage and a melodious voice, behaved heartlessly and insolently towards Him; that, for its wicked behaviour, it was punished by being deprived, for ever, of its lovely feathers and sweet voice, and that, since then, it has been an ugly-looking bird of ill omen.

As an illustration of the Scotch belief that the Magpie is a bird of ill-omen, I should point out the fact that even cultured European ladies also look upon the sight of this bird as an omen prognosticating evil to the seen thereof, as will appear from the following incident mentioned by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Candahar in his *Forty-one Years in India from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*:—

"As we (Sir Louis Cavagnari and Sir Frederick Roberts) ascended, curiously enough we came across a solitary Magpie, which I should not have noticed, had not Cavagnari pointed it out and begged me not to mention the fact of having seen it to his wife, as she would be sure to consider it an unlucky omen,"†

Though it is regarded as a bird of ill-omen, a writer in "*Tit-Bits*" for 6th September 1924, writes as follows:—

"We have never heard of a Magpie which brought its owner ill-luck (S. C.—Appleby), though it is regarded as a bird of ill-omen, the reason being said to be that it was the only bird which did not accompany Noah into his Ark."‡

I should state here that I have not come across any Indian ætiological myth about the House-Sparrow, though it is so abundantly found throughout India.

* *Vide* the article entitled: "*Bird Legends of Calvary*" published in the Calcutta Daily Newspaper. *The Bengalee* of Thursday, the 30th April 1925.

† *Forty-one Years in India from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*. By Field Marshal Lord Roberts of Candahar. In two volumes, London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1889 and Vol. II, page 178.

‡ *Vide* the article entitled "*The Evil Magpie*" in the English Weekly Magazine, *Tit-Bits* of 6th September 1924, page 43.

REVIEWS.

English Geethagalu.

BY "SRI" (B. M. SRIKANTIA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.).

THIS book consists mainly of translations of some of the best lyrics in the English language into Kannada and is a valuable addition to modern Kannada literature. The Karnataka Sangha of the Central College which has already done such excellent work for the language deserves to be congratulated more than ever for having brought out this book. The author is a very able scholar in English and has a faculty of appreciating the best in English literature that not many, whether Indians or others, can possess. He is an equally able scholar in Kannada. This book is the result of this scholarship in both the languages and bears ample testimony to Mr. Srikantia's love of poetry and faculty for poetic expression. It is inscribed to the author's students who believe in the blending of the souls of India and England. There are also three original pieces in the book which show that Mr. Srikantia is a poet and not simply a translator of poetry. Perhaps no one can translate poetry well if he is not a poet. Mr. Srikantia has no capacity for running into volumes but a tendency to measure poetical faculty by quantity of production is a sign of barbarity or vicious taste. Those who know Mr. Srikantia know that he is, by nature, inclined to be silent and that he has chosen to speak, shows the strength of his poetic impulse. It may even be that in some of the pieces he is using the words of kindred spirits who spoke in their day to give utterance to thoughts and feelings of his own which in his person he is not prepared to speak out. Of the translations all that need be said is perhaps that they are as well done as they can be by any one. Some are closer to the original than some others. The translation of Nash's "Spring", for instance, is a very free rendering while the translation of the "Bridge of Sighs" is close to the original. Always, however, the spirit of the original is faithfully preserved in the translation. Some of the pieces are not particularly suited for translation, *e.g.*, Wordsworth's "Pet Lamb", Burns' "Duncan Grey", Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar". In pieces like the last the words are good, the ideas strange. But where the sentiment and imagery are universal, the translations as a rule reach a level of perfection that is amazing; as in Wordsworth's "Written in March", Scott's "Gathering Song" and "Coronach", Coleridge's "Love", the "Bridge of Sighs", Landor's "Rose Aylmer", Christina Rossetti's "Uphill", Newman's "Lead, Kindly Light". The pieces last named are so good that they must be permanent additions to our literature. Incidentally the fact that the same thought should take such excellent

expression in two languages not related to each other and yet seem strange in neither—that it should in fact seem equally familiar and beautiful in both—proves that there is much in common between the thoughts of the East and the West at their best, as also that the many languages of the world are but dialects of a universal language of the heart. It would seem as if the souls of India and England *are* one and that this fact has to be grasped rather than that they are two and have to be blended. Else, how should these translations read so like original writing? It must be stated, however, that in spite of the best effort the translation of some of these universal pieces themselves sounds inadequate, *e.g.*, the translation of Shelley's "Skylark", and the lament "Oh! World, Oh! Life, Oh! Time". The elusive glow of the expression in the original is somehow not present in the Kannada version. This must be partly due to the absence in the Kannada word of that atmosphere of poetic association that lends colour to the English word in its context; but partly it should be due to the fact that while the idea expressed in one language can be put into another language and suitable expression in the former replaced by a counterpart in the latter, the graces of expression which depend on the particular traditions of a language cannot be reproduced in another language not allied to it. This book contains also a number of experiments in metre which do not stay in the stage of experiment. The structure of the pieces and the rhyme schemes follow more or less the structure and schemes in the English originals. In many pieces rhyme is abandoned but the rhythm gives the lines the character of verse. In some of the pieces, indeed, the rhythm is too capricious and the lines do not read as verse, as in the translation of "The Burial of Sir John Moore". In the larger number of pieces however the metrical forms are an extension of forms existing in the language and the effect is pleasing. In the formation of the new metrical system of Kannada all these experiments, both those that are successful and those that seem unsuccessful, are of help. The language of the book is also characteristic and has a distinctive idiom. The author has a very obvious preference for the simple word and the Kannada word as against the big word or the Sanskrit word. There is also a very conscious choice of the pleasing if unfamiliar word even of Kannada and there is a certain new quality in the structure of the sentence reminiscent of the English original. For a detailed illustration of these statements this is hardly the place; but most readers will be able when they read the pieces to see what we mean. Mr. Srikantia says in the first piece in the book that he wished to see the golden beauty of Western poetry adorned in oriental garb. He set out so to adorn it and has succeeded remarkably where success was possible. Where he has not succeeded who can hope to do better? We are glad that having done his work and felt the joy of it he has permitted others to share that joy. The last two pieces in the book are Mr. Srikantia's own. The first of them is a testament of his faith in regard to India. This testament is as wise as any other testament of faith on this subject we know of, though not sufficiently warm-blooded to please

many people. The very last piece in which Mr. Srikantia gives expression to his love of the land of his birth and his respect for its patriot prince will find a ready echo in the hearts of all children of Mysore. This piece also shows that Mr. Srikantia could, if he would, speak on behalf of his countrymen with authority and effect as poet and patriot. That self-discipline, however, which gives weight to his words, also makes these words few. It is the hope of many of his countrymen that few as this poet's words are bound to be they might yet issue in sufficiently close succession to keep them in touch with him and his thoughts. What he may produce hereafter like that which he has produced now will be highly valued by all people interested in the welfare of the country, in its language, its culture and its people.

M. V.

The Palayagars of Gummanayakanapalya.

BY M. S. PUTTANNA, ESQ., B.A.

MR. M. S. PUTTANNA is an earnest and devoted student of Kannada and has written a large number of little story books for the young. These and his History of India published more than thirty to forty years ago continue to be popular text books in our Schools to this day. Latterly, after retirement from Government Service, he has engaged himself in writing monographs, in the language of the people, on the several local dynasties of little Chieftains who at one time or another ruled in several parts of Mysore from about the days of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Mr. M. S. Puttanna delivered five extension lectures, under the auspices of the Mysore University, in Kannada, on the Mysore Palayagars, a few years ago. Afterwards, the first of his Monographs in the Palayagar Series, relating to the Chitaldrug Chieftains appeared. The present brochure on the Gummanayakanapalya Chieftains is the next in the series. Monographs on the Hagalvadi and Ikkeri Chieftains are expected to follow in quick succession. We have no doubt these will form a most instructive and readable account of the period, in the Kannada language.

Mr. Puttanna's account of the Palayagars of Gummanayakanapalya is based 'upon a carefully preserved chronicle in Telugu about the Palayagars of Gummanayakanapalya', This chronicle appears to have been defective in its chronology of the contemporary events it describes but we owe to the author our immense gratitude for his verifying and correcting the inaccuracies and errors that had crept into the Telugu version, in the light of the more authentic publications since published.

The dynasty of the chiefs that established this Palyapat near Patapalya in the present Bagepalli Taluk, Kolar District, Mysore State, was founded in 1242 A.D. with Hire Narasimha Naik and his younger brother Khadripatri Naik of "Hal Vyakar" Kshatriya sect of Achyuta Gotra and Narayana Sutra of Yajus Sakha (?) and it continued to rule in unbroken descent upto 1803 A.D. for a period of 560 years, first under the suzerainty of the Emperors of Vijayanagar, both before and for some time after, the unfortunate battle of Talikot in 1565 A.D. and thereafter under the successive overlordship of the Nizam, the Mahrattas and the Rulers of Mysore, always loyal to the suzerain for the time being, paying regularly the stipulated tribute and helping in war with men and money.

The Palyapat of Gummanayakanapalya was situated in a hilly tract and very sparsely populated. The Naiks, however, were successful in clearing the jungles, with imported labour, in settling the raiyats in newly formed villages and hamlets and in expanding and increasing the cultivated area of land within their territory by constructing new and restoring old tanks. They also established a civilized form of administration, as may be noticed, in matters relating to Land Revenue Survey and Law and Justice. The Palyam officers were paid partly in cash and partly in grain and by endowments of land. Of the twenty-five chiefs mentioned in the volume under reference, Hire Kadirappa Naik, No. 7, Dod Vasanta Naik, No. 9, and Immadi Kadirappa Naik, No. 1 were justly and especially noted for their personal valour in the field of battle and the signal military services they rendered. Aggi Thimma Naik No. 13 and Nalvadi Narasimha Naik No. 20 were most prominent as administrators in times of peace. It is most gratifying and interesting to observe that Rani Ramakka Naikaralu, wife of Narasimha Naik V, administered the Palyapat for a period of 20 years, from 1740 to 1760 A.D. during the imbecility of her husband, with considerable success. A most sagacious and tactful queen, she maintained in spite of many disabilities, the dignity and prestige of the State both within and abroad, by her wise and strict measures.

The Palayagars of Gummanayakanapalya were evidently religious and orthodox. They constructed and liberally endowed a large number of temples in their Palyam, established Agraharams and granted Inams to the Vaidika Brahmanas. They were themselves the disciples of the Pushpagiri Swami of the Smartha sect. The custom of 'Sati' or immolation of the wife on the funeral pyre of her husband was in great vogue: Rani Lakshammanni, queen of Narasimha Naik IV, committed sati on the demise of her husband.

Vasanta Naik VI was the last chieftain of the dynasty and it was in his time that the Palyapat disappeared, after the third Mysore war, even though he helped the combined armies of the East India Co., the Nizam and the Mahrattas, owing, it is said to several untoward circumstances over which he had no control. Subsequent to the Fall of Seringapatam these Palayagars are treated as political pensioners of the Mysore State.

The scions of this ancient family continue in receipt of decent pensions from the Revenues of the State and have settled down as respected landowners in the Bagepalli Taluk. Mr. Puttanna has to be congratulated in bringing them to the public attention. A 'Palayagar' is not the robber chieftain of the Robinhood type, to conjure with; he is a valiant and generous ruler of his day who has done his bit in his time to his country and he is justly proud of it. The present Palayagars of Gummanayakanapalya are distinguishing themselves as public-spirited citizens in the local District Board and elsewhere.

B. R.

"Kurabara Charitra."

BY MR. V. R. HANUMANTHAIYA.

"KURABARA CHARITRA", as its title indicates, is a book of ethnographical interest, dealing with the history and progress of the Kurabar caste. The pastoral is an important stage in man's progress from the Palæolithic to the Factory of the modern times, as is well-known. Certain historians point out that the Kurabars derive their names from their pastoral occupation. Castes have come into existence in India according to geographical and linguistic divisions or occupations of the people. Mr. Hanumanthaiya opines that the Kurabars derive their name from the country "Kuru," which they ruled. Pointing out the many internal sub-divisions in this caste, he goes to make four broad divisions, *viz.*, (1) Karnataka Kurabars, (2) Andhra Kurabars, (3) Dravida Kurabars and (4) Maharashtra Kurabars; the customs of these classes of people as detailed are interesting indeed. The author next proceeds to narrate the vicissitudes of founders and rulers of the caste in India. One of the leading princes of India, H. H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, he says, belongs to this caste. His account of the lives of Subedar Malhari Rao Holkar, the founder of Indore, and of Ahalyabaye of whom Indians are justly proud, is worthy of the attention of the reader. Kalidasa, Kanakadasa the prince of devotees, whose spiritual songs thrill the readers and hearers and several other persons of eminence belong to this caste. The author of this book has taken considerable trouble to collate the materials from several authentic sources and earned the thanks of his people and students of history. It is sincerely to be hoped that more books on such subjects will be forthcoming.

S. M. S.

List of Subscriptions and Donations received during the Quarter ending 31st December 1926.

Names.	Volume.	Amount.		
		RS.	A.	P.
Messrs.				
Dr. R. Shama Shastry, Mysore	XVII	3	0	0
V. Venkatachellam Iyer, Nellore	"	3	0	0
U. Aiyasamy Iyer, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
K. Srinarasimhaiya, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
M. H. Ramasharma, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
S. Parnavitana, Anuradhapura	"	3	0	0
M. S. Krishnamurthy Chettiar, Palakadu ..	XV & XVI	6	0	0
Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, Bangalore ..	XVII	5	0	0
T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer, Bangalore ..	XV & XVI	10	0	0
B. Ramaswamaiya, Bangalore	XVII	5	0	0
M. Ramachandra Rao, Bangalore	Life Donation (part)	10	0	0
M. P. Somasekhara Rao, Bangalore	XVII	5	0	0
B. Nagesha Rao, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
Md. Ismail Sheriff, Hassan	XVII	3	0	0
J. B. Cook, Ashambo	"	3	0	0
S. K. Narasimhaiya, Bangalore	XV & XVI (part)	5	0	0
K. Guru Dutt, Bangalore	XVII	5	0	0
A. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
Dr. T. S. Nanjappa, Bangalore	"	5	0	0
S. N. Srinarasimha Shastry, Bangalore ..	"	5	0	0
S. A. Ramaswamy Iyer, Bangalore	XVI	5	0	0
D. K. Rama Rao, Bangalore	XV & XVI (part)	5	0	0
Secretary, Reading Room, Tumkur	XVIII	5	0	0

**Books presented or purchased during the Quarter
ending 31st December 1926.**

Presented by—

Government of Mysore.—

1. Proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly, June 1926.
2. „ of the Mysore Legislative Council, June 1926.
3. Report on the working of hospitals and dispensaries in the State for the year 1925.
4. Report on Sanitation in Mysore for Calendar year 1925.
5. Administration Report on the working of the Jails and Lock-ups for 1924-25.

Government of Burma.—

Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, 31st March 1926.

Government of India.—

1. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol V. (Texts).
2. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India—No. 31. The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F.A.S.B.

Karnataka Sangha, Bangalore.—

English Songs (ಗೀತಗಳು) by “Sri” (Mr. B. M. Srikantia).

Secretary, Gordhandas Soondardas Charities, Bombay.—

Anubhashya of Vallabhacharya—First and Second Parts of Third Chapter.

EXCHANGES.

1. Editors of:—

1. "HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *P.O. Box No. 2139, Calcutta.*
2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY," *British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.*
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The "Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*
4. "MODERN REVIEW," *91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
5. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," *Srirangam.*
6. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppekulam, Trichinopoly.*
7. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH," *Vepery, Madras.*
8. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST," *The Library, Sinshu,
Otani University, Kyoto.*
9. "THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
10. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
11. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Gurudatta Bhawan, Lahore.*
12. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN
GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
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We regret to record the demise of Dr. E. G. Th. Hultzsch in Halle, Germany, on 16th Jan. 1927. In him we lose an Oriental Scholar of international reputation and a most valued member of the Mythic Society.

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ASOKA'S DHARMA AND RELIGION.*

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

I INTEND to make a conscientious study of Aśoka's Dharma and Religion, based only upon contemporary documents. The Buddhist chronicles of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries have deceived many a scholar. To count so great a monarch as Aśoka among the disciples of Goutama was unquestionably a distinct advantage to the declining Buddhist monachism. Hence their statement is not reliable at all. Centuries after, some Jain authors claimed an analogous honour for themselves as regards Akbar.¹

Mr. Vincent Smith admitted that those chronicles are full of 'silly fictions'.² Hence, he rejects them as tales 'of no historical value',³ that 'cannot be accepted as history'.⁴ Nevertheless Aśoka was, according to him, a fervent Buddhist and the moral he preached and propagated was pure Buddhism. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar states likewise that Buddhist traditions expressed in these chronicles contain 'such downright absurdities and inconsistencies' and disclose 'so much of dogmatical and sectarian tendency that very little that is contained in these traditions may be accepted as historical truth'.⁵ Such is also the opinion of Prof. Kern.⁶ But Mr. Hultszsch in the

* A paper presented to the Fourth Indian Oriental Conference, held at Allahabad, November 1926.

1. Cf. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 166.

2. Smith, *Asoka*, p. 19.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

5. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 96.

6. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 110.

learned introduction to his recent edition of Aśoka's inscription in the first volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* defends the Buddhist tradition of the chronicles,¹ and even contends that the figure of the elephant engraved on the Kālsī and Dhauli rocks is a representation of Buddha as he entered the womb of his mother,² according to the *Nidānakatha Jāttaka*³ and the reliefs of the Bharhut stūpa.⁴

The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims have no more authority than the Pali chronicles. Their information sprang from the same source, viz. the Indian Buddhist monks of the same period of decay.

Hence we shall study in two different chapters Aśoka's Dharma and Religion only through the contemporary documents we possess. Such are his own inscriptions.

I.

ASOKA'S DHARMA.

Various renderings of the word Dharma are found in English books: 'righteousness', 'religion', 'religious rules and principles', 'piety', 'law of piety', 'law of duty', 'moral law'. All these interpretations have different connotations that more or less respond to the word Dharma. We adopt Hultzsch's translation 'morality' as the one that embraces all these connotations.

The exposition of Dharma in Aśoka's edicts dates from the conquest of Kalinga, an event that took place in the eighth year after his *abhisēka*.⁵ Then the sight of the miseries produced by the war changed Aśoka's mind and wishes. "For this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dēvanāmpriya, that while one is conquering an unconquered country, slaughter, death and deportation of people are taken place there."⁶ Hence though there were still in India other countries to conquer, he did not think on conquests any more. He only strove for the conquest of morality, 'Dharmavijaya'.⁷

Three stages of mind are easily traced in this striving for morality. "After that, now that the country of the Kalingas has been taken, Dēvanāmpriya is devoted to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality and to the instruction of the people in morality."⁸

1st stage. Study of morality.—This study seems to have lasted for one and a half year. "Two and a half years and somewhat more have passed",

1. Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, p. xlvī.

2. *Ibid.*, p. xliii.

3. *Jātakas*, I, p. 50.

4. Cf. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 28.

5. R. E. 13, A.

6. R. E. 13, E.

7. R. E. 13, U.

8. R. E. 13, C.

says he himself, "since I am openly a Śākya (or a lay-worshipper)."¹ Through this study he ascertained that morality is the best among all the gifts. "Gifts are meritorious", he says, "but there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality."² The reason of this excellence is that the "practice of morality bears much fruit".³

2nd stage. Love of morality.—This is a natural consequence of the knowledge of its excellence. "This practice (of morality) should be observed until the desired object is attained."⁴ He entered this stage a year and a half after he began his study. During that first stage he was not 'very zealous'.⁵ But during the year and somewhat more that embraced this second stage he became 'very zealous'.⁶

3rd stage. Propagation of morality.—"This is the fruit of zeal."⁷ This propagation of morality was commenced two years and a half and somewhat more after he began his study of morality, just when he issued the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts. Naturally morality being the best gift, "the best work is instruction in morality".⁸ But Aśoka considers this to be a duty of a king,⁹ and accordingly he says that "no other duty is more important than promoting the welfare of all men".¹⁰

Propagation of morality among his subjects.—Aśoka considers himself the father of all his subjects, who are for him "like his own children"; accordingly he "loves them like himself"¹¹ without any distinction or prejudice. "I am directing my attention", says he, "not only to my relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness; and I am instructing them accordingly."¹² He likewise ordered his subordinates to "perform their duties confidently and fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits on them."¹³ This happiness is of double nature: "And whatever effort I am making", says he, "is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to living beings, that I may make them

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1. Rūpnāth and Sahasrām R. I., B.
 2. R. E. 9, I and J; R. E. 11, B.
 3. R. E. 9, F.
 4. R. E. 9, H.
 5. Rūpnāth and Sahasrām R. I., C.
 6. *Ibid.*, D.
 7. *Ibid.*, F.
 8. R. E. 4, G.
 9. R. E. 6, I.
 10. R. E. 6, K.
 11. Sep. Jaugada R. E. 2, J; Sep. Dhauli R. E. 2, I.
 12. P. E. 6, C.
 13. P. E. 4, D.

happy in this world and that they may attain heaven in the other world."¹ In fact the R. E. 6 shows the pains he takes for the welfare of his subjects. The affairs of the people must be reported to him at any time: "While I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks, and everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people."²

New system of propagating morality.—Aśoka himself informs us that he was not the first sovereign who desired the spread of morality among his subjects; but he admits that their plans were not successful. "The following occurred to me," says he. "On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might progress by an adequate promotion of morality; but on the other hand men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality."³ In fact he himself describes the state of morality among his subjects, previous to his propaganda: "In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, and discourtesy to Sramanas and Brahmanas."⁴

This failure of his predecessors' efforts caused him to devise a new system of propaganda. "How then might men," he continues, "be made to conform to morality? How might men be made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality? How could I elevate them by the promotion of morality? Concerning this, King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus: The following occurred to me. I shall issue proclamations of morality, and shall order instruction in morality to be given. Hearing this men will conform to it, will be elevated, and will be made to progress considerably by the promotion of morality."⁵ Aśoka's new system comprises two parts, proclamations and instructions.

Proclamations of morality.—All the rock edicts of Aśoka and the majority of the rest are intended to this purpose. "For this purpose proclamations of morality were issued by me."⁶ What was said in these proclamations will be related later on. Let it suffice at present to quote Aśoka's words on these proclamations: "When I had been anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, in order that not transgressing those rescripts, they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects."⁷ Such were the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts.⁸

1. R. E. 6, L.; Sep. Jaugada R. E. 1, G, *Ibid.*, 2, F.

2. R. E. 6, D-E.

3. P. E. 7, E.

6. P. E. 7, M.

4. R. E. 4, A.

7. P. E. 6, B.

5. P. E. 7, F-L.

8. Hultzsch, *C.I.A.I.*, I, p. xliv.

Instructions in morality.—"For this purpose . . .", Aśoka continues, "manifold instruction in morality was ordered to be given, in order that those agents of mine, too, who are occupied with many people, will exhort them and will explain morality to them in detail."¹

Aśoka considers among the principal duties of a king this spreading of morality among his subjects by oral instruction and by example; and accordingly he devotes himself personally to it. "This is considered by me my principal duty, viz., visiting the people personally."² He began this missionary work in the tenth year after his *abhiśēka*. "In times past", says he, "the Dēvanāmpriyas used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours. On these tours hunting and other such pleasures were enjoyed. But when King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sambhodi. Therefore tours of morality were undertaken here."³ According to a Nepalese tradition his daughter Charumati accompanied Aśoka, at least in the beginning of this tour.⁴ The *Aśokavadana* relates that the Buddhist monk Upagupta accompanied the pious sovereign on this occasion; but modern criticism rejects this fact as an invention of the poet.⁵ Hiuen Tsiang gives some interesting details of this royal journey, but his information is not reliable, as originally coming from the Buddhist monks of the seventh century. We know, however, what was done in this morality tour from the words of Aśoka himself: "On these tours the following takes place: visiting Sramanas and Brahmanas, and making gifts to them, visiting the aged and supporting them with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing them in morality, and questioning them about morality, as suitable for this occasion."⁶ During this tour he issued some proclamations of morality, such are for instance the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām rock-inscriptions "issued on tour, 256 nights spent on tour".⁷

Officers and Mahāmātras of morality.—In the twelfth year of his reign, when he published the first proclamations of morality he directed some of his officers to carry on the morality-propaganda after his own example. "Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rājuka and the Prādēśika shall set out on a complete tour throughout their charges every five years for this very purpose, viz., for the following instruction in morality as well as for other

1. P. E. 7, M.

2. P. E. 6, F.

3. R. E. 8, A-D.

4. Cf. Smith, *Asoka*, p. 78.

5. Cf. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Asoka (Asoka-avadana) Dans les textes Indiens and Chinois*, p. 65.

6. R. E. 8, E.

7. Rūpnāth R. I., M-N; Sahasrām R. I., J-K.

business.”¹ “The Lajūkas also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men,—these too were ordered by me: ‘In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality’.”² “For as one feels confident after having entrusted his child to an intelligent nurse, thinking, ‘The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well,’ so the Lajūkas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.”³ It is gratifying to Aśoka, indeed, to record the good works of all these agents. “And my agents,” says he, “both the high ones and the low ones and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising morality, and are thus able to stir up fickle persons.”⁴

A year later Aśoka appointed special officers in charge of this morality propaganda. “Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me when I had been anointed thirteen years.”⁵ The occupations of these Dharma-mahāmātras are enumerated by Aśoka himself: “They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brahmanas and Ibhyas, with the destitute and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, and in releasing them from the fetters of worldly life. They are occupied in supporting prisoners with money, in causing their fetters to be taken off, and in setting them free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged respectively. They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of our brothers, of our sisters, and of whatever other relatives of ours there are. These Mahāmātras of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, in order to ascertain whether one is eager for morality or properly devoted to charity.”⁶ “Those my Mahāmātras of morality too are occupied with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders.”⁷ “Both these and many other chief officers are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem they are reporting in diverse ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of my sons and of other queens’ sons, in order to promote noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality.”⁸ Aśoka addressed the two separate rock-edicts of Dhauḷi to these Mahāmātras, giving them careful instructions as to the way of fulfilling their task; and he is glad that their effort also is very noble and fruitful.⁹

1. R. E. 3, C.

2. R. E. 7, N.

3. P. E. 4, I.

4. P. E. 1, E.

5. R. E. 5, I.

6. R. E. 6, K-N.

7. P. E. 7, Y.

8. P. E. 7, CC-DD.

9. P. E. 1, F.

Morality propaganda in foreign countries.—The Mahāmātras of morality were sent also to foreign countries to propagate Aśoka's Dharma abroad.¹ "And this conquest has been won repeatedly by Dēvanāmpriya both here and among all his borderers, even as far as at the distance of six hundred yōjanas, where the Yōna king named Antiyoga (Antiochus Theos II of Syria) is ruling, and beyond this Antiyoga, where four kings are ruling, the king named Tulamaya (Ptolomy II Philadelphos of Egypt), the king named Antekina (Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia), the king named Makā (Magas of Cyrene), and the king named Alikyashudala (Alexander of Corynth), and likewise towards the south where the Cholas (Tanjore) and Pandyas (Madura) are ruling, as far as Tamraparni (Ceylon)."² Aśoka also informs us in another edict that the Mahāmātras of morality are occupied in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality even among the Yōnas (Greeks), Kambōyas (Kābulīs) and Gandhāras (North-Western Panjabis), among the Rāthikas (Maharashtra), among the Pitinikas (?), and whatever other western borderers of mine there are."³ Another list adds two other foreign countries, Satiyaputra (?) and Keralaputra (Malabar).⁴

As regards all these kings and foreign countries the motives of Aśoka are most altruistic. "This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers", says he, "that they may learn that Dēvanāmpriya.....that they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; that they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; that they may learn this, that Dēvanāmpriya will forgive them what can be forgiven, that they may be induced by me to practise morality; and that they may attain happiness in this world and in the other world."⁵ Accordingly we read moreover that in all these foreign countries as well as in his own dominions, "everywhere two kinds of medical treatment were established by King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin, *viz.*, medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle. Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted. Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted. On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug, for the use of cattle and men."⁶

Aśoka's attitude towards different sects.—The Mahāmātras of morality were also occupied in spreading it among individuals of different sects or congregations of gurus. "These are occupied with all sects in establishing

1. R. E. 5, J.
2. R. E. 13, Q.
3. R. E. 5, J.

4. R. E. 2, A.
5. Sep. Dhauti R. E. 2, G.
6. R. E. 2., A-D.

morality.”¹ “Those my Mahāmātras of morality too are occupied with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects. Some Mahāmātras were ordered by me to busy themselves with the affairs of the Saṃgha; likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brahmanas and Ājivikas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various other sects; thus different Mahāmātras are busying themselves specially with different congregations. But my Mahāmātras of morality are occupied with these congregations as well as with all other sects.”²

In fact Aśoka honours all religions and sects without any distinction: “And all sects,” says he himself, “have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.”³ “King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects; both ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.”⁴ Therefore “King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin desires that all sects may reside everywhere.”⁵ In fact, according to him all the sects seek the same ideal. “For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.”⁶ These are supposed to be the essentials of all the sects, and “Dēvanāmpriya does not value either gifts of honours so highly as this, *viz.*, that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.”⁷ For this were sent the Mahāmātras to work among different sects. Every sect has its doctrine or dogmatic principles and its ethics or morality. Aśoka does not mingle with the former. “For this is the desire of Dēvanāmpriya, *viz.*, that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.”⁸ But he wishes to promote morality among all sects, since he supposes that ethics are the same for all. Hence he declares that some Mahāmātras “are occupied with all sects in establishing morality.”⁹ Now morality may be practised between sect and sect in many different ways. “A promotion of the essentials (of all sects) is possible in many ways. But its root is this, *viz.*, guarding one’s speech, *i.e.*, that neither praising one’s own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or that it should be moderate in every case. But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case. If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects. If one is

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1. R. E. 5, J.
 2. P. E. 7, Y-AA. Cf. Sarnath P. E., H.
 3. P. E. 6, E.
 4. R. E. 12, A.
 5. R. E. 7, A.
 6. R. E. 7, B.
 7. R. E. 12, B.
 8. R. E. 12, J.
 9. R. E. 5, J.

acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well. For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all this out of devotion to his own sect, *i.e.*, with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely. Therefore concord alone is meritorious, *i.e.*, that they should both hear and obey each other's morals." ¹ This concord also is enforced by Aśoka among the members of the same sect. In two of his edicts he enjoins punishments for those who dare to break this concord and union among members belonging to the Buddhist sect. "The monk or nun who shall break up the Saṅgha, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence. For my desire is that the Saṅgha may be united and of long duration." ²

Success of Aśoka's efforts.—The new system of propagating morality was very successful. Aśoka himself informs us that this Dharma-vijaya "has been won repeatedly by Dēvanāmpriya both here and among all his borderers." ³ "Likewise here in the king's territory, among the Yōnas and Kamboyas, among the Nabhakas and Nabhitis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Palidas,—everywhere people are conforming to Dēvanāmpriya's instruction in morality." ⁴

Exposition of the Dharma.—After studying the new system introduced by Aśoka for this Dharma-vijaya, we shall expound now what this Dharma consists of, according to his edicts and inscriptions.

After a careful examination of these documents it is evident that Aśoka's Dharma is purely practical. Yet some dogmatic tenets may be found scattered here and there. Consequently we shall divide our exposition into two sections: A. Moral Principles; B. Dogmatic Tenets.

A. Moral Principles of Asoka's Dharma.

"What does morality include?" questions Aśoka. "It includes few sins (no sins), many virtuous deeds." ⁵ The ethics of Aśoka contain negative and positive principles, *viz.*, prohibitions and exhortations. "This progress of morality among men," says he himself, "has been promoted by me only in two ways, *viz.*, by moral restrictions and by conversion." ⁶ Moreover he distinguishes between the efficiency of both: "But among these two," he continues, "those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversions however, morality is promoted more considerably." ⁷ Hence conversion and persuasion is much more efficient than moral restriction, and

1. R. E. 12, C-I.

2. Sanchi and Sarnath P. I., D-E.

3. R. E. 13, Q.

4. *Ibid.*, R.

5. P. E. 2, B-C.

6. P. E. 7, JJ.

7. *Ibid.*, KK.

the reason is because conversion smoothly produces by itself the fruit intended by restriction. "By conversion, however," says he, "the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, because it leads to abstention from hurting living beings and to abstention from killing animals."¹

I. Asoka's Negative Precepts.

1. *Animals must not be killed.*² Animals are sometimes called by Aśoka 'living beings'. His prohibition includes even the sacrificial animals,³ and he informs us that this abstention is meritorious.⁴ This seems to be one of the main restrictive precepts of Aśoka's Dharma, since he himself distinguishes this precept from all the rest. "Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, that certain animals are inviolable. But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me."⁵ Aśoka himself was the first in stopping the slaughter of animals in the royal kitchen. "Formerly in the kitchen of King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry. But now when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed daily for the sake of curry, viz., two peacocks and one deer, but even this deer not regularly. Even these three animals shall not be killed in future."⁶

2. *Living beings must not be hurt.*⁷ Aśoka even published a catalogue of animals he declared absolutely inviolable, with a strict regulation against hurting them even indirectly. One of the injunctions of this decree is for instance that "Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to 'destroy living beings,' because naturally in any case many living beings will perish. "Living animals must not be fed with other living animals. Fish are inviolable and must not be sold."⁸ This was his last step in his policy of compassion towards animals. In spite of this Aśoka did not abolish capital punishment.⁹

3. *Festival meetings must not be held.*¹⁰ "For King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings."¹¹ Yet Aśoka acknowledges that not all festival meetings are to be abolished, because "there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious."¹²

4. *Social or superstitious ceremonies are not recommended.*¹³ Such are the ceremonies practised "during illness, at the marriage of a son or of a

1. *Ibid.*, NN.

2. R. E. 4, C; R. E. 11, C.

3. R. E. 1, B.

4. R. E. 3, D.

5. P. E. 7, LL-MM.

6. R. E. 1, F-H.

7. R. E. 4, C.

8. P. E. 5, B-K.

9. P. E. 4, L-M.

10. R. E. 1, C.

11. *Ibid.*, D.

12. *Ibid.*, E.

13. R. E. 9, B.

daughter, at the birth of a child, and when setting out on a journey".¹ Aśoka does not recommend these ceremonies and calls them "offensive and useless" specially when practised by women.² Anyway "these ceremonies bear little fruit,"³ and "are of doubtful effect. One may attain his object by them, but he may not do so. And they bear fruit in this world only."⁴ Now he admits that some "ceremonies should certainly be practised".⁵ These ceremonies are according to him "the practice of morality".⁶

II. Asoka's Positive Precepts.

As pointed out above this is, according to Aśoka, the chief section of his Dharma. It consists in the practice of "good deeds,"⁷ "virtuous deeds,"⁸ and "moral virtues".⁹ The virtues recommended by Aśoka are the following:—

1. *Gentleness*.¹⁰ This virtue may be practised in one way only, viz., 'gentleness to animals'.¹¹ Aśoka himself tells us how he practised this virtue: "On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, even to the boon of life."¹²

2. *Liberality*.¹³ This virtue is also called 'distribution of gifts';¹⁴ and it is said moreover that 'gifts are meritorious'.¹⁵ The ways of practising this virtue are the following:—

(a) 'Liberality to Brahmanas and Sravanas.'¹⁶

(b) 'Liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives.'¹⁷

(c) 'Supporting the aged with gold.'¹⁸

3. *Proper behaviour towards relatives*.¹⁹ This virtue may be practised in the following ways:—

(a) 'Obedience to mother and father.'²⁰

(b) 'Courtesy to relatives.'²¹

(c) 'Proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives.'²²

(d) 'Obedience to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives.'²³

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| 1. <i>Ibid.</i> | 9. Brahmagiri R. I., N. |
| 2. <i>Ibid.</i> , C. | 10. P. E. 7, EE. |
| 3. <i>Ibid.</i> , E. | 11. R. E. 9, G. |
| 4. <i>Ibid.</i> , I-K. | 12. P. E. 2, E. |
| 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , D. | 13. P. E. 7, EE. |
| 6. <i>Ibid.</i> , F. | 14. P. E. 4, O. |
| 7. R. E. 5, E. | 15. R. E. 9, I. |
| 8. P. E. 2, C. | |
| 16. R. E. 3, D; R. E. 8, E; R. E. 9, G; R. E. 11, C; R. E. 13, G. | |
| 17. R. E. 3, D; R. E. 11, C; R. E. 13, G. | |
| 18. R. E. 8, E. | |
| 19. Brahmagiri R. I., O. | |
| 20. R. E. 3, D; R. E. 4, C; R. E. 11, C; R. E. 13, G; P. E. 7, HH; Brahmagiri R. I., N. | |
| 21. R. E. 4, C. | 22. R. E. 13, G. |
| | 23. R. E. 3, D. |

4. *Obedience to elders.*¹ This virtue may be practised in the following ways :—

- (a) 'Reverence to elders.'²
- (b) 'Courtesy to the aged.'³
- (c) 'The pupil must show reverence to the master.'⁴
- (d) 'Courtesy to Brahmanas and Sravanas.'⁵
- (e) 'Obedience to those who receive high pay.'⁶

5. *Compassion.*⁷ This virtue may be practised in the following ways :—

- (a) 'Compassion towards animals.'⁸
- (b) 'Courtesy to slaves and servants.'⁹
- (c) 'Courtesy to the poor and distressed.'¹⁰

Aśoka practised this virtue in several ways. First, he says that the Mahāmātras of morality "are occupied in supporting prisoners with money, in causing their fetters to be taken off, and in setting them free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively".¹¹ Then every year, perhaps on the anniversary of his *abhiṣeka*, he released prisoners,¹² and ordered capital punishment to be delayed for three days: "and my order", says he, "reaches even so far that a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed, and who have been condemned to death. In this way either their relatives will persuade those Lajūkas to grant their life, or if there is none who persuades them, they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to attain happiness in the other world."¹³

6. *Kindness.*¹⁴ This virtue may be practised in the following ways :—

- (a) 'Visiting Brahmanas and Sravanas.'¹⁵
- (b) 'Visiting the aged.'¹⁶
- (c) 'Visiting country people.'¹⁷
- (d) 'Instructing country people in morality.'¹⁸

1. R. E. 4, C ; R. E. 13, G ; P. E. 7, HH ; Brahmagiri R. I., N.

2. R. E. 9, G.

3. P. E. 7, HH.

4. Brahmagiri R. I., O.

5. R. E. 4, C ; P. E. 7, HH.

6. R. E. 13, G.

7. P. E. 7, EE.

8. Brahmagiri R. I., N.

9. R. E. 9, G ; R. E. 11, C ; R. E. 13, G ; P. E. 7, HH.

10. P. E. 7, HH.

11. R. E. 5, L.

12. P. E. 5, L.

13. P. E. 4, L-M.

14. R. E. 13, O.

15. R. E. 8, E.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

7. *Self-control*.¹ This virtue is practised in the following ways:—

- (a) 'Truthfulness'²; 'Truth must be spoken.'³
- (b) 'To guard one's speech according to morality.'⁴
- (c) 'Moderation in expenditure and possessions.'⁵

8. *Goodness*.⁶

9. *Impartiality*.⁷

10. *Purity*.⁸

Purity of mind is, according to Aśoka, absolutely necessary on account of its effect on all the other virtues. His words are the following: "And even one who practises great liberality (and he could mention any other virtue as well) but does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean."⁹

The practice of morality is a difficult thing. Aśoka does not conceal the difficulty that exists in practising morality. He says it openly: "It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds. He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult."¹⁰ "It is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this."¹¹ He knows by his own experience the difficulty of this enterprise, since he himself says that "by me many virtuous deeds have been performed".¹²

Aśoka nevertheless proposes some ways of making easier the practice of morality. He says: "Happiness in this world and in the other world (a thing attained through the practice of morality) is difficult to secure without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear of sin and great energy."¹³

1. *Great love of morality*.—Love makes easy the most difficult things. A person who has such a love will overcome all the difficulties he will meet with in the practice of morality. Aśoka seems to identify this love of morality with the zeal for morality, for he says besides that "it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal".¹⁴ Because, as he himself says, morality "is the fruit of zeal".¹⁵

2. *Careful examination*.—This careful examination is but a real examination of conscience. "Men," says he, "regard only their virtuous deeds, thinking: 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me'. They do not at all regard their evil deeds, thinking: 'This evil deed has been performed by

1. P. E. 13, O; P. E. 4, O.

2. P. E. 7, EE.

3. Brahmagiri R. I., N.

4. P. E. 1, G.

5. R. E. 3, D.

6. P. E. 7, EE.

7. R. E. 13, O.

8. Rūpnāth and Sahasrām R. I., F; Brahmagiri R. I., G. Cf. R. E. 9, H, K; R. E. 11, D.

9. P. E. 7, EE.

10. R. E. 7, E.

11. R. E. 5, B-C.

12. R. E. 11, E.

13. R. E. 5, D.

14. P. E. 1, C.

15. R. E. 6, N; R. E. 10, E.

me ; this very act is called a sin '. Now this is indeed difficult to recognize. But indeed this ought to be regarded thus : ' These passions, *viz.*, fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful. Let me not ruin myself by these very passions ' ; the following ought to be specially regarded : ' This action conduces to my happiness in this world, that other action to my happiness in the other world ' ."¹ Such is the full examination of conscience Aśoka prescribes for those who wish to acquire the practice of morality. With this examination of conscience, men will correct their evil deeds a thing which is absolutely necessary for practising morality, because " the practice of morality also is not possible for a person devoid of good conduct " ."² Now, without this examination of conscience men's conduct will never be improved, for a " sin is easily committed " "³ and moreover " he who will neglect even one portion of this duty will perform evil deeds " ."⁴ The cause of these sins and evil deeds is pointed out by Aśoka when he says that " men possess various desires and various passions " ."⁵ " One fails to act thus on account of the following dispositions : envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness and fatigue. " "⁶ This is the reason why he has mentioned these passions when explaining his method of examining one's conscience. Passions are the cause of demerit and men's " danger is this, *viz.*, demerit " ."⁷ Finally Aśoka's efforts are directed to this end " that all men may run little danger " ."⁸

B. Dogmatic Tenets of Asoka's Dharma.

1. *The existence of many dēvās.*—" Those gods, " he says, " who during that time had been unmingled with men in Jambudvīpa (India), have now been made by me mingled with them. " "⁹ It is evident that the existence of dēvās is one of the tenets of Aśoka's Dharma, and he propagated it throughout India. In R. E. 4 Aśoka tells us that he " showed the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures " ."¹⁰ Evidently by these representations Aśoka showed to the people of India, images of different gods and celestial beings.¹¹

1. P. E. 3, B-H.

2. R. E. 4, H.

3. R. E. 5, G.

4. R. E. 5, F.

5. R. E. 7, C.

6. Sep. Jaugada R. E. 1, N.

7. R. E. 10, D.

8. R. E. 10, C.

9. Rūpnāth and Sahasrām R. I., E ; Maski R. I., D ; Brahmagiri R. I., F. " *Dēvās* a word which we translate, for want of better equivalent in English, as ' gods ' ; but means literally ' Bright beings ' and might be rendered by pure spirits. " Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, p. 214.

10. R. E. 4, B.

11. Cf. *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 505.

2. *Sacredness of life.*—This is one of the clearest tēnets in Aśoka's Dharma. He speaks of animal life only.

3. *Relation between human deeds and human salvation.*—"King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage."¹ Certainly "to practise morality is meritorious."² And really the merit acquired by this is not small, for he says that "the following bears much fruit indeed, viz., the practice of morality."³ The reason of this is because "this is meritorious. By this practice it is possible to attain heaven."⁴ So that "this bears fruit in this world and in the other world."⁵ Therefore it is evident that, according to Aśoka, man by his good deeds merits a reward in heaven. And this is precisely the aim Aśoka intends in his morality-propaganda. "And whatever effort I am making, is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to living beings, that I may make them happy in this world, and that they may attain heaven in the other world."⁶

4. *Heaven.*—The existence of heaven (*Svarga*) in Aśoka's Dharma is evident from the quotations given just now. For him heaven is synonymous with happiness. "For if one conforms to this (morality), happiness in this world and in the other world will be attained."⁷ And his only wish is that men "may attain happiness in this world and in the other world."⁸ This heavenly happiness is in the other world, hence after one's death.

5. *Eternity of heaven.*—This point is quite clear. According to him "if one is acting thus, the attainment of happiness in this world is secured and endless merit is produced in the other world by the gift of morality."⁹ Moreover he admits that by the practice of morality "even if one does not attain by it his object in this world, then endless merit is produced in the other world."¹⁰ Now this endless merit supposes an endless reward corresponding to it, so that properly this adjective 'endless,' according to Aśoka's mind, refers to and qualifies the reward rather than the merit itself. But the eternity of heaven also is clearly shown in another passage of Aśoka's inscriptions. He says that the superstitious ceremonies he condemns "bear fruit in this world only. But the practice of morality is not restricted to time."¹¹ Evidently here time is synonymous with this world, because we could say also that 'practice of morality is not restricted to this world,' without changing the meaning of the phrase. If time is synonymous with

1. R. E. 10, A.

2. P. E. 1, B.

3. R. E. 9, F.

4. R. E. 9, K.

5. R. E. 13, AA.

6. R. E. 6, L.

7. P. E. 7, PP.

8. Sep. Dhaulī R. E., G.

9. R. E. 11, E.

10. R. E. 9, M. (Shahbazgarhi).

11. *Ibid.*, L.

this world, the other world must be synonymous with 'no-time,' *i.e.*, eternity.

6. *Immortality of the soul.*—This is not clearly mentioned in Aśoka's edicts, but it is a natural consequence of the admission of endless happiness in the other world. If there is endless happiness in heaven, there must be an endless being for enjoying this happiness, otherwise that happiness would not be endless.

7. *The goal of our existence.*—For Aśoka the goal of man is this endless happiness in heaven. Accordingly he exclaims: "And what is more desirable than this, *viz.*, the attainment of heaven?"¹ And this is the reason why "Dēvanāmpriya thinks that only the fruits in the other world are of great value."² Hence "whatever effort King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that is only for the sake of merit in the other world."³

8. *Heaven is for all.*—For Aśoka there is no distinction among persons, whenever he speaks of heaven. Moreover he expressly says that "this cannot be reached by persons of high rank alone, but even a lowly person is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous."⁴

9. *Hell.*—It is not clear whether Aśoka admits the existence of hell. Certainly he tells us that he strives "in order that all men may be free of danger".⁵ Now he tells us also that "danger is this, *viz.*, demerit".⁶ What is this demerit in the inscriptions of Aśoka? For him endless merit and endless happiness in the other world seem to be synonymous. Hence, endless merit is a reward. Therefore, demerit must be a punishment. Consequently he admits the necessity of a punishment for men's sins. Whether this punishment is undergone in this world or in the other world is not clearly revealed in his edicts.

10. *Forgiveness of sins.*—This also is one of the clearest tenets of Aśoka's Dharma. "And my order reaches even so far that a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed and who have been condemned to death. In this way either their relatives will persuade those Lajūkas to grant their life, or if there is none who persuades them, they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to attain happiness in the other world. For my desire is this, that even when the time of respite has expired, they should attain happiness in the other world."⁷ It is evident that the sins of the criminals may be forgiven, even in a short time. This forgiveness is obtained through fasts, and

1. R. E. 9, L. (Girnar).

2. R. E. 13, W.

3. R. E. 10, C.

4. Rūpnāth and Sahasrām R. I., C; Maski R. I., E; Brahmagiri R. I., H.

5. R. E. 10, C.

6. *Ibid.*, D.

7. P. E. 4, L-N.

not only through fasts kept by the criminal himself but also by his relatives. I suppose that the word "fasts" is taken here as a kind of mortification. Hence mortification, even practised by another person, may obtain the forgiveness of sins and the endless happiness in heaven.

A Criticism of Aśoka's Dharma.—The statement that Aśoka's Dharma was not Buddhistic is not new. Fleet,¹ Macphail² and Monahan³ have affirmed this prior to us. Even Dr. Kern says that "his inscriptions, with a few exceptions, contain nothing particularly Buddhistic."⁴ Senart after having said that in the Dharma "there is nothing exclusively Buddhist"⁵ makes the following statement: "In my opinion our monuments (Aśoka's inscriptions) are witnesses of a stage of Buddhism sensibly different from that which it developed in later times."⁶ This is only a guess without any foundation. The same contradiction is also made by Hultzsch. He says that all his moral proclamations "do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer," but he adds: "If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his Dharma, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*."⁷ Both the statements of Senart and Hultzsch seem to have been elicited in compliance with the statements of those who style Aśoka the great Buddhist missionary.

But if we examine carefully, without bias and with an open mind, Aśoka's moral precepts and dogmatic tenets, as exposed above, we immediately realize that his Dharma is common to all Indian religions, though specially influenced by Jain doctrines as regards sacredness and inviolability of life. There is not the least mention of any Buddhist deep principle. For instance, nothing is said by Aśoka about the Buddhist *Nirvāṇa*. Hultzsch himself confesses that in this "important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than the *Dhammapada*."⁸ The reward of the practice of the Dharma, as exposed by Aśoka, *viz.*, happiness in this world and endless merit or happiness in the other world, contains nothing of the *nirvāṇic* annihilation, in which nothing can be enjoyed. It is only the expression of the general Hindu belief about the reward of human actions. Again Hultzsch admits that "the lists of evil

1. Fleet, *The Rummindei Inscription*, J. R. A. S., 1908, pp. 491-2.

2. Macphail, *Aśoka*, p. 48.

3. Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, p. 214.

4. Kern, *o. c.*, p. 112.

5. Senart, *The Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, I. A., XX, p. 260.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-5.

7. Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, p. xlix.

8. *Ibid.*, p. liii.

passions and dispositions do not tally with the *āśava*s and *kilesa*s of the Buddhists.”¹ Finally, his tolerance of all religions or sects is purely Hindu. Some of the passages in which he prides himself upon the virtue of tolerance must have been terribly displeasing to Buddhists. The Buddhist writers despise all those rivals, who were tolerated and even protected by Aśoka.²

As regards the external conditions of the epoch, it is indeed strange that Aśoka would propagate Buddhism by showing representations of celestial gods, while in the second and first centuries B.C., not even the image of Buddha was carved at Sanchi, for fear of idolatry. Moreover Aśoka himself says that some of his predecessors or kings of past times had laboured in order to propagate the Dharma. Now Chandragupta and Bindusāra were never attached to Buddhism, and there is no record of their efforts for the spreading of Buddhist Dharma.

All this shows that the Dharma preached by Aśoka was not the Buddhist one, but a general Dharma common to all religions, though based upon Hinduism and influenced by Jainism. It has been said that due to Aśoka's efforts and enthusiasm, the whole of India was converted to Buddha's faith. There are no contemporary records to prove this statement. It is a natural consequence of the presupposed fact that Aśoka propagated Buddhism throughout the whole of India and even in foreign countries. Naturally this opinion must be revised. There were certainly in India centres of Buddhism, as Nalanda, Sarnath, Sanchi, Ellora, Ajanta, Kaneri and others, the ruins of which show evident proofs. But the whole of India was never Buddhist. This explains the fact of the prevalence of Hinduism throughout India in the time of the imperial Guptas and in the period of the Chinese pilgrims. Finally, it is also a striking fact that no Buddhist records are kept in the history of Egypt, Macedonia, Corynth and Cyrene, which countries were supposed to be converted to Buddhism by the zeal of Aśoka.

II.

ASOKA'S RELIGION.

There are some inscriptions of Aśoka which are always adduced in support of the theory that his religion was Buddhism. I left them purposely for treatment in this chapter, for I consider them historical rather than doctrinal. It is true Aśoka could preach a universal Dharma, based upon the Hindu one, while he professed Buddhism in his heart. An unprejudiced study of these historical inscriptions, called Buddhist by Hultzsch, will disclose what was his private religion.

1 *Ibid.*, p. lii.

2 *Cf.* Kern, *o. c.*, p. 112.

Mr. E. Thomas, misled perhaps by the statement we read in the *Āṣoka-taranginī* that Aśoka became a Jina, supposed that his early faith was Jainism.¹ But his opinion is not considered scientific by modern scholars. Again Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that "it is no longer permissible to call in question the Buddhist faith of Aśoka".² He gives much importance to the authority of the Buddhist records, which must, in my opinion, be totally rejected by modern scientific historians. "It is scarcely necessary," he says, "to state that Aśoka was a follower of Buddhism. All Buddhist records tell us that he had espoused that religion."³ Hence Mr. H. H. Wilson who 'ventured to dispute his Buddhist faith', is not kept in countenance by the Calcutta professor.⁴

Three of these historical inscriptions of Aśoka speak of the time in which he became an *upāsake*, 'a lay-worshipper',⁵ while their parallel inscription of Rūpnāth says that he was 'openly a Śākya'⁶ and the one of Maski reads 'a Buddha-Śākya'.⁷ Does this mean that he became a Buddhist believer on this occasion? It is not clear. We must not place too much importance on the word itself, forgetting the spirit of the sentence. Certainly *upāsake* means a lay-worshipper, but a lay-worshipper does not mean anything else than one who is not properly acquainted with the deep dogmas of his faith and has not been initiated with its mysteries. This word *upāsake* may, therefore, be interpreted as referring to Aśoka's conversion after the Kalinga war, i.e., his becoming a lay-worshipper. Naturally he could also call himself Śākya and Buddha-Śākya, because any conversion is a kind of enlightenment, and he could therefore consider himself the enlightened one. Such is the meaning of the word *upāsake*, Śākya and Buddha-Śākya. How the mere fact that one of them is not always repeated in the four parallel inscriptions shows that the writer did not stick fast to this idea. On the other hand the following line "But I had not been very zealous" is invariably repeated in the first three of these decrees and clearly supposed in the fourth. This is the main idea Aśoka wishes to make known, that in the beginning he had not been very enthusiastic; but that after a year and a half he became very zealous.

The event that marks the separation between these two periods is one of the most discussed points in the life of Aśoka. "But a year and somewhat more has passed," says he, "since I have visited the Saṃgha and have

1. Thomas, *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Aśoka*, p. 32 (London, 1877).

2. Bhandarkar, *o. c.*, p. 73.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

5. Sahasrām, R. I., B; Brahmagiri R. I., C.

6. Rūpnāth, R. I., B.

7. Maski, R. I., B.

been very zealous".¹ This visit to the Saṃgha is also mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*² and other Pali chronicles. Bühler supposed that Aśoka had actually entered the Saṃgha³ and had become a Buddhist monk. His opinion had been followed by Mr. V. Smith⁴ and Dr. F. W. Thomas.⁵ They seem to base their opinion not only on this edict, but also on the statement of It-sing, who saw an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk,⁶ and on the *Dīvyavadāna* that states that Aśoka died without power for having renounced the world and becoming a Buddhist monk.⁷ Senart has explained that the expression *saṃghapāpitē*, entering the Saṃgha, must be understood "in a material, physical meaning".⁸ But Hultsch reads already *saṃgha upete*, and translates "since I have visited the Saṃgha".⁹ Prof. Bhandarkar supposes that he actually lived in the Saṃgha not certainly as a *Bhikṣhu*, a state he thinks incompatible with kingship, but as a mere *Bhikṣhu-gatika*, one living among monks.¹⁰

Anyhow it seems quite certain that Aśoka never entered the Saṃgha. He paid a visit to it and he was much struck with the life of mortification led by those monks. This sight augmented the zeal of the monarch, and as a result of this visit, he issued two decrees: one for all his subjects and another for the members of the Saṃgha. The former is the one contained in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. We must note that this document though it is the first exposition of the Dharma after his visit to the Saṃgha, does not give any precept we might call Buddhist. The other document addressed to the Saṃgha itself is thoroughly different. This is the Calcutta-Bairat R. I.¹¹

This document has been supposed to be the profession of Buddhistic faith of Aśoka. It would have been so, if addressed to all his subjects, but it was addressed only to the Saṃgha: "The Magadha king Priyadarśin having saluted the Saṃgha, hopes they are both well and comfortable."¹² Then it is not strange to hear him adding: "It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha.

1. Rūpnāth R. I., D; Maski R. I., C; Brahmagiri R. I., E.

2. *Mahāvamsa*, V, p. 23 (Wijesinha's Translation, Colombo, 1909).

3. Bühler, *The Three New Edicts of Aśoka*, IA, VII, p. 141.

4. Smith, *Aśoka*, pp. 26, 35-9.

5. *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 504.

6. Fleet, *The Rummindei Inscription*, J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 496.

7. J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 657.

8. Senart, *The Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, IA, XX, p. 163.

9. Hultsch, *C. I. I.*, I, pp. 166-7.

10. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 79-80.

11. Dr. F. W. Thomas, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 498, supposes that this inscription, called also the Babra Edict, was issued toward the close of his reign. But Mr. Hultsch, *C. I. I.*, p. xlvi, says that it was published just after Aśoka's visit to the Saṃgha.

12. Calcutta-Bairat R. I., A.

Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.”¹ This is not a profession of faith. The document being addressed to the monks themselves, he could not say otherwise. Aśoka had to observe the injunction given to all the sects; not to say anything against another sect and to foster the purity of his doctrine. In order to obtain this, he recommends both the monks and the nuns as well as the laity to read often and meditate upon seven extracts of Buddha’s Dharma.² It is worth noticing the difference between this document addressed to the Dharma and Rūpnāth R. I., written at the same time, but addressed to all the subjects of his vast Empire. Even Prof. Bhandarkar remarks that the six passages recommended in the Calcutta-Bairat edict do not express any ritualistic or metaphysical element of Buddhism.³

Moved by the same eclectic spirit he visited during his first tour of morality several places connected with Buddha’s history. “When King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years he went to Sambodhi” (Bodhi tree).⁴ During another tour he visited Buddha’s birthplace, and conferred some privileges on it: “When King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped this spot, because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born there. He both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse, and a stone pillar to be set up, in order to show that the Blessed one was born here. He made the village of Lummini free of taxes and paying only an eighth share of the produce.”⁵ His visit to these two spots do not prove anything in favour of his supposed Buddhism. This is only an individual instance of that general rule he followed during his reign: “All sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.”⁶ Even now-a-days the Hindus go to both the places to worship there the memory and the relics of the Buddha.

Other instances of honours given by Aśoka to other sects are not lacking in his own inscriptions. He sent Mahāmātras of morality to the Nirgranthas, to the Brahmanas and to the Ājīvikas.⁷ The latter, a Vaishnava (?) sect founded by one Gōśāla, a contemporary of Gautama and Mahāvīra, were specially honoured by the Emperor as the dedication of the caves of the Barābar hill discloses.⁸ Moreover “when King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the stūpa of the Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double of its original size. And when he had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped this spot and caused a stone pillar to be set up.”⁹ Kōṇākamana was one of the previous

1. *Ibid.*, B-C.
2. *Ibid.*, E-F.
3. Bhandarkar, *o. c.*, p. 88.
4. R. E. 8, C.
5. Rummindei P. I., A-C.

6. P. E. 6, E.
7. P. E. 7, Z.
8. Barābar Hill Inscriptions.
9. Nagali Sagar Pillar A-B.

Buddhas, most likely a mythological person, worshipped by a sect rival of Buddhism founded by Dēvadatta, Buddha's cousin.¹

His strict orders as regards any schism produced in the Saṃgha² are other instances of his interest for the purity and morality of the sects.

The *Mahāvamsa* states that Aśoka erected many Buddhist buildings.³ But the *Rājatarangini* states likewise that he built many Brahmanical temples in Kashmere.⁴ Moreover Dr. F. W. Thomas rightly remarks that "When the Chinese pilgrims refer, as they constantly do, to a 'stūpa of Aśoka' we cannot in strictness understand anything more than one of archaic style."⁵

Such are the arguments generally used to prove the Buddhist faith of Aśoka. I feel sure that no impartial unprejudiced historian will accept them as valuable to prove such a conclusion. We have been misled by the Buddhist chronicles long ago. Modern criticism cannot accept other documents referring to Aśoka than his own inscriptions. And these do not say that he embraced the doctrines of Gautama. No document records his embracing a new faith. We know moreover that his family, and specially his father Bindusāra, professed Brahmanical faith.⁶ Hence Aśoka remained Hindu and Brahmanical till the end of his days.

Aśoka has been compared with Akbar and both have been called the two greatest emperors of Hindustan. Now it seems quite certain that Akbar's fame, based mainly upon the statements of his friend and courtier Abul-Fazl, needs some revision after the research in Sher Shah's life and character done by Prof. Kali Karan Karanjan Qanungo. So it happens also with Aśoka. It is true that he enlarged the dominions of the Empire, by the conquest of Kalinga. But was he such a great statesman as it has been said? My opinion is that his talents of administration cannot be compared with those of Akbar. After the death of Aśoka the Maurya Empire practically disappears from the scene of Indian History. Had he followed the wise rules in administration drawn by his grandfather Chandragupta and his experienced minister Kautilya, the Empire would have lasted a little longer. The greatest monarch of Hindustan during the Hindu period was Chandragupta. His grandson Aśoka's glory is based upon intellectual grounds. He was a philosopher rather than a sovereign; he was a teacher of morals rather than an administrator.

1. Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 33 (4th ed.).

2. Kausambi P. E., D-E; Sanchi P. I., C-E.

3. *Mahāvamsa*, V, p. 23.

4. *Rājatarangini*, I, p. 20 (Stein's Translation).

5. *The Cambridge History of India*, p. 501.

6. *Mahāvamsa*, p. 15.

THE SANCTITY OF THE COW IN INDIA.

BY L. L. SUNDARA RAM, ESQ., B.A., F.R.ECON.S.

"THE cow is one of the greatest blessings to the human race. No nation or people has become highly civilized without her. She produces the best human food on earth. She makes this health-building, strength-giving food from grass and coarse plants. She provides not only for the young and her keeper's family but also a surplus to sell. Where cows are kept and cared for, civilization advances, lands grow richer, homes grow better, and debts grow fewer. Truly the cow is the mother of prosperity." These facts stated by Mr. A. Hayne of Chicago¹ of the benefits conferred by the cow upon human civilization, fit in exactly with our exposition of the profound feelings of our Aryan ancestors about the cow which ultimately led to its deification.

The early domestication of the cow has an indelible impression upon Indian life and thought. When the civilization of the world was anything but remarkable, when the legacies of the Egyptian and Assyrian cultures were relegated to the background, when barbarism was flourishing as in a hot-bed, the Aryan peasantry, with their pastoral and agricultural excellence, with their knowledge of civilized arts and crafts, with their superior and marvellous mental equipment which produced the best of ancient thought and wisdom, dazzled the world in an exceptionally remarkable degree. One of the prominent features of their social superiority is the realization and recognition of the fundamental importance of agriculture to the body-politic, and more especially of cattle requirements to make that needed agriculture thrive.

This recognition on their part of the absolute necessity of live-stock for social purposes made them conserve cattle life, especially of the bovine species, with meticulous care. This is evident from their invocations to Varuna and Mithra to shower plenty of rain and make their cattle thrive. Dr. Kaegi admirably sums this up in the following manner²: "The principal means of sustenance was cattle keeping. Repeatedly in the hymns we meet with the prayers for whole herds of cows and horses, sheep and goats, heifers and buffaloes, but *especially of milch-cows*, which are, to more than one singer, the sum of 'all good which Indra has created for our enjoyment'! But by divine power, the red cow yields the white milk from which is prepared

1. *Indian Review*, December 1924, quoting the article of Mr. W. H. Harrison, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, in the *Statesman*, Calcutta.

2. The *Rig-Veda*, p. 13. The italics are mine.

mead and butter, the favourite food of gods and men, and perhaps also cheese." With this recognition of the importance of cattle and the guarded protection of cattle-wealth by the ancient Aryans, emerges to the surface the supreme importance and exaltedness of the cow in their view.

Before entering into the various theories of cosmology propounded by Aryan wisdom and the place of the cow in them, it is but proper and instructive to investigate into the economic environs of the Aryan society and the place of the cow in the working exposition of their economic endeavours. This is particularly required for one cogent reason. Society and social wisdom are inordinately influenced by the prevailing economic structure of a particular age. Especially in the case of a civilization which is in its infancy this influence is all the more operative, since literature may almost be said to be non-existent, religious texts not as yet codified, and social wisdom not crystallized into definite form. Above all, the predominant influence exercised by agriculture and cattle wealth absorbed the mental outlook of the Aryans. When literature, secular and religious, was in the making in such an age, the existing economic conditions which are, after all, matters of daily observance are sure to operate strongly upon the minds of the early codifiers of sacred texts in their efforts to create systematic literature. Such is the spectacle we visualize in the writings of early Roman poets.¹ And we find this revealed in a large measure in the literature of the Vedic and the post-Vedic periods which are at once copious and vivid. An examination of this phenomenon will be of great use to us in our efforts to work out and understand the various theories of cosmology evolved by the Aryans in relation to the existence of the cow on earth.

Prof. Samaddar gives a comprehensive survey of the economic position of the cow in the light of Aryan wisdom in his *Economic Condition of*

1. Cf. Dryden's Virgil, *Georgics*, Bk. III.

"The mother cow must wear a lowering look,
Sour-headed, strongly-neck'd to bear the yoke;
Her double dewlap from her chin descends,
And at her thighs the ponderous burden ends.
Long as her sides and large, her limbs are great;
Rough are her ears, and broad her horny feet.
Her colour shining black, but fleck'd with white;
She tosses from the yoke: provokes the fight.
She rises in her gait, is free from fears,
And in her face a bull's resemblance bears:
Her ample forehead with a star is crown'd
And with her length of tail she sweeps the ground.
Lofty-neck'd;
Sharp-headed, barrel-belly'd, broadly back'd,
Brawny his chest and deep."

I am obliged to my friend Mr. H. M. Douglas for this reference,

Ancient India.¹ He says: "Kine, even then was very likely the medium of exchange, signifying certainly a primitive stage of society. The price of a particular cow is mentioned in terms of kine. Indeed, in almost all the passages which I am able to collect, though silver and gold are mentioned and I take it that these are generally silver and gold coins, importance has been invariably given to kine. King Dasaratha does give gold and silver but does it along with ten lakhs of kine. When the king gives away the four quarters of the world to the sacrificial priests, they wanted as the price thereof gems and gold but preferably kine. The king is indeed spoken of as dispensing with *Dakshinas* profusely, but he does it along with hundreds and thousands of kine. His daughter-in-law, the inimitable Sita, also evidently attached more importance to kine than to gold and silver, for in addressing the Ganges as well as Kalindi to propitiate them, she promises to offer thousands of kine. Certainly, if she had liked, and if gold and silver had been the general medium of exchange, she would not have laid particular importance to the kine. We are told again, that the banks of Gomati were filled with kine. When Rama was giving away his wealth, he rewards the Brahman Trijata with cows and bullocks though we find him giving away gold coins as well." Even though Prof. Samaddar is referring here to the economic aspect of Indian life as can be gleaned from the stray verses of the Ramayana, there is no gainsaying the fact that the economic conditions obtaining in the pre- and post-Ramayana ages show us the same phenomenon wherein the cow is to be seen as a medium of barter besides being a measure of value. But Prof. Samaddar's commitment that Sita would have promised to propitiate the Ganges and the Kalindi with gold and silver if these metals were used as media of exchange instead of with kine, is open to qualification. We cannot say categorically that gold and silver were totally unknown as media of exchange to the people of the Ramayana period. But the possible reason for the inimitable Sita to prefer kine to these metals is to be sought in the religious sanctity of the cow coupled with its economic importance in subserving human ends.

The importance of agriculture and pasture figure more prominently in the ages past than it does at the present day in the national economy of India thus adding further strength to the value of cattle life especially of the bovine order. According to Sukra,² the cow is included among the components of an ideal household. Hymn 19 of Book X of the *Rig-Veda* is an instance in point: "We call thee cowherd, let him take out these cows; let

1. Chapter III. "Ramayana from the Economic Point," pp. 69-70. Calcutta University Press, 1922.

2. *Sukraniti*, III, 481-2. Translated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Sacred Books of the Hindus Series.

him pasture them in the fields ; let him bring them back to the house ; he pastures them on all sides. May he come home safe ! O cowherd ! pasture the cows in all directions and bring them back. Pasture them in the various parts of the earth and bring them back." Commenting upon this memorable verse, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt remarks,¹ "that we shall seek in vain in the entire range of Sanskrit literature for a passage in which the humble hopes and wishes of simple agriculturists are so naturally depicted."

Even more emphatic passages are those supplied by the hymnal of the *Adharva Veda*. There are several *charms* in the form of prayers by the Aryan votary taken recourse to to attain their cherished ends.² There is a charm for the prosperity of cattle.³ The Aryan votary invokes Vayu, Savitar, Brihaspati, Ammavati and the whole band of beneficent supernaturals to keep their flocks together and safely conduct them home on their return from pastures. "I pour together the milk of the cows, I pour together strength and sap with the ghee. Poured together shall be our herds, constant shall be the cows with the owner of the cows. I have brought hither the sap of the grain. Brought hither are our heroes, brought hither to this house are our wives." The intensity of the love towards the cow generated by individual instinct and the economic contribution of the cow to human well-being are most sincerely reflected in this passage. In another passage⁴ the same theme is harped upon with characteristic eloquence. It invokes godly help to unite the flocks of cattle and lead them to the stables of the owner. It prays for the prosperity of the cows and the plenty of their seed and their faithfulness to their owner. "Right here come, ye cows, and prosper here like the *saka*-bird ! And right here do ye beget (your young) ! May you be in accord with me !Attach yourselves, O cows, to me as your possessor ; may this stable here cause you to prosper ! Upon you, growing humorous and living, may we, increasing in wealth, alive, attend !" The last sentence is the crowning of affection afforded by the Aryans to the cow. Another hymn⁵ invokes Arundhati to empty the horn of plenty upon the Aryan stables and protect the cows when on pastures. Hymn VI, 70 embodies a charm to secure attachment of a cow to her calf.

Besides these positive invocations, the hymnal of the *Adharva Veda* contains many passages wherein cow-killing is deprecated as the most heinous

1. *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 40.

2. *Hymns of the Adharva Veda*, II. 21. 1-5 ; III. 14. 1-6 ; V. 18. 1-15 ; VI. 59. 1-3 ; VI. 70. These are only a selection of the most important *charms* which are relevant to our purpose, S. B. E., Vol. XLII. Bloomfield.

3. *Ibid.*, II. 21. 1-5.

4. *Ibid.*, III. 14. 1-6.

5. *Ibid.*, VI. 59. 1-3.

of crimes. Hymn V. 18 of the *Adharva Veda* is a standing condemnation of any encroachment on the life of the cow. Under pain of moral damnation, the cow cannot be slaughtered. The Aryan agriculturist fills the atmosphere with importunities against the killing of cows and this hymn reveals it in a striking manner. "Enveloped (is she) in her skin as an adder with evil poison; do not, O prince! (eat the cow) of the Brahmana; sapless, unfit to be eaten is that cow" (v. 3). In a later verse (v. 11) he threatens the perpetrator of the crime with vindictive Nemesis and sings: "The cow herself, when slaughtered, comes down upon the Vaithavyas who had roasted for themselves the last she-goat of Kesariprabhanda."

According to Manu,¹ cow-killing is an *Upapataka*, and the Hindu law according to Vasistha² inflicts a *Taptakrikkhara* penance upon the perpetrator of the crime, dressed in the raw hide of the cow if that culprit chances to be a Brahmana. According to that familiar verse of the *Mahabharata*³ "all that kill, eat and permit the slaughter of cows rot in hell for as many years as there are hairs on the body of the cow slain." Capital punishment was inflicted on those who either stole, hurt or killed a cow or abetted others to do so, and Kautilya lays down⁴: "Whoever hurts or causes another to hurt, or steal or causes another to steal a cow, should be slain."

The Aryans further rationalized the condemnation of beef-eating in a strikingly plausible manner. Rev. Dr. John Morrison describes this in the following passage⁵: "To kill a cow is as bad as to kill many men. For, suppose a cow to have a lifetime of fourteen or fifteen years. Her calves, let us say, six cow-calves and six bull-calves. The milk of the cow and her six cow-calves during her natural lifetime would give food for a day to an army of 15,440 men according to the founder of the Aryas, while the labour of the other six calves as oxen would give a full meal to an army of 256,000 men. Therefore, to kill a cow, etc., *Q. E. D.*" Even though we may not be in a position to accept literally this rationalization of the Aryans, we can readily discern the element of truth contained in it, that to deplete the country of bovine cattle would mean the sure starvation of her sons in a greater or a lesser degree.

Instances of this kind may be multiplied to any extent. But it is sufficient to note the fundamental point that our Aryan ancestors have a

1. *Institutes of Manu*, XI, 60.

2. *Vasistha Dharmasastra*, XXI, 23, S. B. E., Vol. XIV, p. 113.

3. XIII, 74, 4.

4. *Arthasastra*, Bk. III, ch. xxix, Translated by Dr. Shamasastri, 2nd Edition (1923), p. 156.

5. *New Ideas in India during the XIX Century*, p. 136. By Rev. John Morrison, M.A., D.D., Macmillan, 1907.

meticulous clinging to the recognition of the importance of the cow in the national economy of India. And we may note here that they are totally undeceived in asserting their conviction as we, who live in the twentieth century, do find ourselves envisaging the same set of truths as those which our ancestors experienced before us.

One important fact is to be taken cognizance of before we proceed to work out the positive theories of cosmology and the place of the cow in them according to the various systems of Hindu thought. We cannot afford to be ignorant of the fact that at one time Aryans used to consider cows as fit objects for a sacrificial holocaust. And it is a delightful spectacle for us to imagine the early Aryans passing from darkness to light, from an once-convenient practice to a reasoned and highly beneficial dogma, from deeming bovine cattle as fit offerings to supply the amentum to the gods they adored to declaring them sacrosanct. The reasons for the vogue of such a practice and its subsequent abandonment are to be sought in the fact that the Aryans, accepting the most popular theory of their migrations, were not so strongly impressed with the importance of cows to the community while they were making away from their abode in mid-Asiatic steppes. The bounteous tracts of the land watered by the Five Rivers might have served the purpose of an eye-opener in making them realize their folly in denuding the country of a potential source of prosperity, such as the bovine cattle supply to agricultural India. This suggestion is proved in a measure by the theory of the evolution of practices as regards the selection of animal victims at sacrifices, fully expounded in the *Satapatha Brahmana*¹ wherein the sacrificial victim changes from a man to a goat passing through the intermediary stage of the cow. This we will see in greater detail later on, but here we will stop with supplying evidence to establish the point that cows were once thought to be fit offerings at a Brahmanical sacrifice.

For one thing, Manu ordinances²: "For the sustenance of the vital spirit. Brahma created all this animal and vegetable system; and all that is moveable and immoveable, that spirit devours." This would make man the supreme master over the living world and he can use his discretion in discriminating between lawful and unlawful food as the Muhammadans, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, are wont to lay special stress upon. This is in quite easy agreement with that verse of the Bible³ which says: "And God said, let us make man in our own image, after our likeness; and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle and over all the earth and over every creeping thing that

1. I. 2, 3, 6.

2. *Institutes of Manu*, V, 28.

3. *The Holy Bible. Genesis.* 1, 20. (Authorized Version.)

creeps upon the earth." And it is lawful for him to partake freely of all sources of food, vegetable as well as animal.

Manu is even more explicit in this respect in laying down that whatever is offered first in sacrifice and then taken is perfectly lawful food.¹ The flesh of the animal must only be hallowed with the repetition of *Mantras* before it is taken in,² so that it might become lawful food; and the man, especially a Brahmana, who refuses to partake of the emoluments of the consecrated animal would sink in another world for twenty-one births to the state of a beast.³ But under no circumstances, Manu warns us, shall there be any wanton indulgence in the slaughter of animals.⁴

When we attempt to have a clear idea of the nature of Aryan sacrifices with special relation to bovine cattle, we find in early Hindu literature sufficient information to establish the thesis that cows were once victimized at sacrifices and used at times as articles of food. Meat-eating was at one time universal in India and cows were sacrificed, and at *Sradhhas* "the aroma of beef was thought to be an excellent aliment for the spirits".⁵ According to a queer Vedic practice "it is plain that animals, generally goats, were sacrificed before a cremation ceremony was proceeded with, and there is ample evidence to maintain that cows too were offered up to the gods before the decaying entrails of the human body were consumed by the flames of the crematorium."⁶ Even the *Rig-Veda* leads us to subscribe to the theory of the prevalence of the practice of cow-slaughter in ancient *Aryavarta*.⁸ In *Uttara Rama Charitre* we find Valmiki regaling Vasistha with the "fated calf" which surely leads us to the fact that at one time in Indian History beef-eating was common. We are told in *Vasistha Dharmasastra*⁹ that it was declared by Vajasaneyaka that the flesh of milch-cows and oxen is fit for sacrifices. Yajnavalka is declared to have said:¹⁰ "I, for one, eat it (beef), provided it is tender." The *Grihya Sutras* permit the slaughter of a cow on the arrival of a guest, especially at a wedding or a sacrifice.¹¹

1. *Institutes of Manu*, V, 32—37.

2. *Ibid.*, V, 36.

3. *Institutes of Manu*, V, 35.

4. *Ibid.*, V, 37.

5. *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 194. By Sir Monier Williams.

6. *Adharva Veda*, IX, 5, 1—3.

7. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 125. By Dr. Macdonnell.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 149. Though cow-killing in the (White) *Yajur-Veda* already said to be punishable with death, the *Rig-Veda* does not express an absolute prohibition, for the wedding hymn shows that even cows were slaughtered on specially solemn occasions, whilst bulls are several times described as sacrificed to Indra in large numbers.

9. XIV, 46. S. B. E., Vol. XIV, p. 74. Translated by Dr. George Bühler.

10. *Satapatha Brahmana*, III, 1, 2, 21.

11. See Jacobi, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, pp. 224—226. Art. Cow (Hindu).

From *Satapatha Brahmana* I. 2, 3, 6, it is certain that there is a reference to the once-prevalent practice of sacrificing bovine cattle for ritualistic purposes.

Post-Vedic and Buddhist literature offer us ample material in this respect. Especially, the Buddhist canon, which we will countenance fully in the next chapter, is a standing condemnation of the Aryan type of sacrifice wherein no hesitation was shown as regards the slaughter of bovine cattle. For our present purposes, that significant passage from the *Kutadanta Sutta*¹ is sufficient witness to this set of phenomena, wherein it is mentioned that Gotama prevented the Brahmin Kutadanta from performing a sacrifice with "a hundred bulls, and a hundred steers, and a hundred heifers, and a hundred goats and a hundred rams which had been brought to the post of sacrifice".

From the cumulative evidence which has been so far gathered it is practically established that cow-slaughter is known to the Aryan communities of the ages past and that it is a later development of Aryan sentiment to deem cows as sacrosanct and damn cow-slaughter as a deicide. The result is the outcome of the lessons of experience and the steady observance by the Aryans of the benefits conferred by the cow on the agricultural population of India.

The transition from slaughtering cows at sacrificial occasions to a total ban on beef-eating and deeming cows as sacrosanct is a process of ages and has for its basis the focus of the influences of several sociological associations. On the one side, there is the realization of the importance of bovine cattle for agricultural purposes and a faint foreboding that the allowing of cow-slaughter would lead to the ultimate denuding of the country of its live-stock. There is the recognition of the extreme usefulness of the products of the cow which add considerably to the stamina of the human world, as can be seen from several poetic conceits and hyperboles showered upon the cow.² There is the revolutionary process in the selection of the animal victim, descending from the highest (human) to the lowest (goat) so well described in *Satapatha Brahmana*,³ and finally the total abstention from killing animals at all but invoking the animal victim into the specially

1. *Dialogues of the Buddha* Part I, p. 174. Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series. Vol. II. Translated by Rhys Davids. Oxford. Humphry Milford (1923). The italics are mine.

2. See *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 224. Dr. Jacobi mentions that the word *go* which originally denotes 'cow' is given as synonym of earth, heaven, rays of light, speech, and singer, in fact any highly valuable thing or any thing which has a dignity of a very high order. Cf. *Institutes of Vishnu*, IV. 1—6. "Like the bright heated butter of the cow (the appearance) of the God is lovely, like the bountifulness of a milch-cow," or III. 17-1 where it is described that Agni's "robe is ghee". Nothing can go beyond this verse in point of attachment and general praise of the qualities of the cow.

3. I. 2, 3, 6.

prepared cake of dough offered at sacrifices.¹ There are the promptings of the humanitarian instinct of man which forbid all kinds of infliction of cruelty on living creatures, under pain of damnation, much less of slaughtering a creature like the cow which has a physiological organism that can feel the torture and make the standers-by visualize it. Buddhism had played an important part in bringing about this evolution, or revolution, as you may call it, in the abandonment of animal sacrifices in general and cow-sacrifices in particular. Speaking of the story in the *Kutadanta Sutta*, which we shall see in the next chapter, Dr. Rhys Davids opines² that "the Vedic sacrifices of animals had practically been given up when the long struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism reached its close. Isolated instances of such sacrifices are known even down to the Muhammadan invasion. But the battle was really won by the Buddhists and their allies, and the combined ridicule and earnestness of our Sutta will have had its share in bringing about the victory." All these causes conspired together in bringing about a gradual change in the selection of the animal victim, ultimately putting a total ban on cow-slaughter at sacrifices, much less on ordinary occasions.

The theory of evolution in the selection of animal victim fully described in the *Satapatha Brahmana*,³ is to be noted with interest. "At first, namely, the gods offered up a man as the victim. When he was offered up the sacrificial essence went out of him. It entered into the horse. They offered up the horse. When it was offered, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the ox. They offered up the ox. When it was offered, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the sheep. They offered up the sheep. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the goat. They offered up the goat. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it.

"It entered into this earth. They searched for it by digging. They found it in the shape of those two (substances), the rice and barley; therefore, even now they obtain those two by digging; and as much efficacy as all those sacrificial animal victims would have for him, so much efficiency has this oblation (of rice, etc.) for him who knows this. And thus there is in this oblation that completeness which they call 'the five-fold animal sacrifice'.

"When it (the rice-cake) still consists of the rice-meal, it is the hair. When he pours water on it, it becomes flesh; for then it becomes consistent; and consistent also is flesh. When it is baked it becomes bone: for then it

1. *Ibid.*, I, 2, 3, 5, and *Rajatarangini*, III. 7. Stein, Vol. I, p. 72.

2. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 165. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids. Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series. Vol. II.

3. I. 2, 3, 6—9.

becomes somewhat hard; and hard is the bone. And when he is about to take it off (the fire) and sprinkles it with butter, he changes it into marrow. This is the completeness which they call 'the five-fold animal sacrifice'.

"The man (*Purusha*) when they offered up became a mock-man (*Kim-purusha*). Those two, the horse and the ox, which they had sacrificed became *Bos Gaurus* and a *Gayal* (*Bos Gavaeus*) respectively. The sheep which they sacrificed became a camel. The goat which they offered became a sarabha. For this reason one should not eat the flesh of these animals, for these animals are deprived of sacrificial essence (are impure)." Commenting upon this passage, Prof. Max Muller remarks:¹ "The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain that in case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued. As to sheep and goats, they were considered proper victims to a later time. When vegetable offerings took the place of bloody victims, it was clearly the wish of the author of our passage to show that, for certain sacrifices these rice-cakes were as efficient as the flesh of animals." The theory of the sacrificial cake proving as efficacious as the animal victim is well advanced in the *Satapatha Brahmana* I. 2, 3, 5, according to which, the sacrificial cake to be offered at the altar transforms itself into an animal victim; rather, to put it correctly, an animal victim is invoked into the substance of the cake and then it is offered. "As it is an animal sacrifice that this sacrificial cake is offered." Dr. Julius Eggeling in a foot-note to this verse says that "the sacrificial cake is a substitute or symbol (*Pratima*) for the animal sacrifice (as this, it would be seen, was originally a substitute for the human sacrifice) by which the sacrificer redeems himself from the gods."² Henceforward, the sacrificial food has come to consist of butter and the butter oblation seems to have become the vogue at sacrifices throughout the succeeding ages. Characteristically enough, the butter oblation itself became hallowed and the *Satapatha Brahmana* concludes:³ "The sacrificial food at these offerings consists of clarified butter. Now the butter, indeed, is a thunderbolt, and with the thunderbolt, the butter, the gods gained the seasons, the years and deprived their rivals of the seasons of the year. And with that thunderbolt, the butter,

1. *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 420.

2. *Satapatha Brahmana*, XI. 1, 8, 3, and *Taittiriya Brahmana*, III. 2, 8, 8. It is interesting to note here that there is a certain amount of historicity given to this idea by the fact that later kings like Gopaditya and Meghavahana, especially the latter, who, while abstaining from slaughter of animals, are reported to have specially substituted the effigy of an animal in ghee in preference to a regular animal victim originally offered at sacrifices. Cf. *Rajatarangini*, I. 344 and III. 7. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 51 and 72 respectively.

3. *Satapatha Brahmana*, I. 5, 3, 4.

he now, in the same way, gains the seasons, the year and deprives his enemies of the seasons of the year. For this reason, clarified butter forms the sacrificial food at these offerings. Now this butter is the year's own liquor: hence the gods gained it (the year) by means of its own liquor: and in the same way he also now gains it by means of its own liquor. This is the reason why clarified butter forms the sacrificial food at these (fire-offerings).” Again,¹ “the butter portions must be offered to the Prajapati. As the Prajapati is undefined, the butter libation offered also becomes undefined, exalted, and verily by means of the sacrifice the gods made that conquest of the heavens.” All the while we have to remember that in the accounts of the relations between gods and men we have to imagine a constant fight between the gods and the *Asuras*, or symbolically, between good and evil, light and darkness, to attain the former of which the human being on earth must perform sacrifices through the efficacy of which alone he will attain his ends.

We will now take up the several theories that hallow the name of the cow with a sacredness of its own,—theories developed with a deliberate will on the part of the orthodox Hindu, mostly with a historical and observant basis, that made the cow appear as the divine embodiment of plenty and prosperity.

Dr. Macdonnel writes:² “Among the domestic animals known to *Rig-Veda*,.....cattle, however, occupy the chief place. Cows were the chief form of wealth and the name of sacrificial “fee”, *Dakshina*, is properly an adjective meaning “right”, ‘valuable’ with the ellipse of *go*, ‘cow’. No sight gladdens the eye of the Vedic Indian more than the cow returning from the pasture and licking her calf fastened by a cord; no sound was more musical to his ear than the lowing of the milch kine. To him, therefore, there was nothing grotesque in the post exclaiming, ‘as the cows low to their calves near the stalls, so we praise Indra with our hymns’ or ‘like un milked kine will have called aloud (lowed) to the, O! hero (Indra)’.” This is the superb attitude of the Aryans which made them weave a web of praise and glory round the name of the cow and thus lend her a grander appearance. In this they were totally unblinded by their enthusiasm, as it always appealed to experience and hard actualities of agricultural life which demand a meticulous conserving of bovine life.

Dr. Jacobi opines in his invaluable article on the ‘Cow’ in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*³ that the belief in the sanctity of the cow

1. *Satapatha Brahmana*. I. 6, 1, 20–21 and I. 6, 2, 1.

2. *A History of Sanscrit Literature*, p. 149.

3. Vol. IV, p. 224–226.

which is a prominent feature of Hinduism is traceable to pre-historic times before the Aryans separated from the Indo-Iranians. His contention is true in a great measure as we find not a less striking similarity between the ideas of the *Zend-Avesta* and the Aryan sacred lore, as we shall see later on in the chapter on the Zoroastrian attitude.¹ In the *Zend-Avesta* we meet with a divine being called *Geus-Urvan* (*Goshurun*), the soul of the cow which is identified with the personification and guardian of living beings, whereas in the *Adharva Veda*,² Vasa, the prototype of cows, is a kind of the generating principle of the universe.³

In the Vedic times the word 'go' used to suggest among other things the following meanings and was almost used as a synonym to them : earth, heaven, rays of light, speech and singer.⁴ More especially the cow is identified with the earth. In the *Adharva Veda*,⁵ Viraj, the divine cow, is described to have come down upon earth: "She ascended; she came to men; men called to her: 'O rich in cheer, come!'; of her Manu, son of Vaivasvant, was young; " earth was vessel; her, Prithi, son of Vena, milked; from her he milked both cultivation and grain."⁷ In this hymn is contained the myth so elaborately worked out in *Vishnu Purana*⁸ which runs as follows: "Prithu, son of Vena, having been constituted universal monarch desired to recover from his subjects edible plants, which, during the preceding period of anarchy, had all perished. He therefore assailed the Earth, which, assuming the form of a cow, fled from and traversed all the heavenly regions. At last she yielded to him, and promised to fecundate the soil with her milk. Thereupon, Prithu flattened the surface of the earth with his bow, uprooting and thrusting away hundreds and thousands of mountains. Having made Svayambhuva Manu the calf, he milked the Earth and received the milk into his own hands for the benefit of mankind. Thence proceeds all kinds of corn and vegetable upon which people subsist now and always. By granting life to the Earth, Prithu was as her father; and she thence derived the patronymic appellation *Prthivi* (daughter of Prithu). Then the gods, the sages, the demons, the Gandharvas, Yaksas, Pitrs, serpents, mountains, and trees took a milking vessel suited to their kind, and milked the Earth of appropriate milk. And the milker and the calf were both peculiar to their own species."

1. Dr. Jacobi's article is of immense usefulness to the student of ancient Hindu literature, especially in getting a clear idea of the influence wielded by the cow upon Aryan thought and wisdom. Almost all the available data have been brought to bear upon his observations.

2. X. 10.

3. In this connection see Sir Monier Williams: *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 319.

4. See Jacobi, *op. cit.*

5. VIII. 22—29.

6. Literally, 'calf'.

7. *Harward Oriental Series*, VIII. 514.

8. I. XIII. Wilson's Translation.

This is the reason why the cow is regarded in India as a *Mata*, a mother, and thus the *Gomata* receives the unremitting love and sincere veneration from the generality of the Hindu population. As Dr. Jolly puts it,¹ "the mythical identification of the earth with a cow furnishes the basis of many poetical conceits, e.g., that a king should milk the earth tenderly in order to get plentiful revenue, etc. She is the most auspicious creatures on earth besides being purity and plenty incarnate. Thus cows are auspicious purifiers and upon the cows depend the world."² "A house is purified by scouring it with a broom and plastering it with cow-dung, and a manuscript or a book by sprinkling water over it. Land is cleansed by scouring, by plastering it with cow-dung, by sprinkling, by scraping, by burning, or by letting cows (or goats) pass (a day and a night) on it."³ This is in extreme harmony with hygienic principles as cow-dung, as we shall see subsequently in the chapter on the medicinal values of the products of the cow, is at once antiseptic and a bactericide. The religious sanctity of the cow added a further degree of sacerdotal importance to cow-dung as a purificatory agent. This superb attitude of veneration of the cow and the deeming sacrosanct of the faintest expression of the values of mother cow culminates in that verse of *Vishnusutra* which sings:⁴ "In the urine of the cows dwells the Ganges, prosperity (dwells) in the dust (rising from their couch), good fortune in cow-dung, and virtue in saluting them. Therefore, they should be constantly saluted." Placed side by side with this another verse of the Vedic hymnal⁵ which muses, "like the bright heated butter of the cow (the appearance) of the god is lovely, like the bountifulness of the milch cow," and the Hindu attitude towards the cow explains itself with remarkable amplitude. It is interesting to note the story related in the *Mahabharata* about the sanctity of the urine of cows.⁶ "Sri, the goddess of fortune, who left the demons for the gods, came to the cows, desiring to reside in them. They would, however, have nothing to do with that fickle deity, but in the end they were moved by her entreaties and consented to honour her. 'Do thou live in our urine and dung; both these are sacred, O! auspicious goddess.'"

Cows are the daughters of heavenly *Surabhi*, which means literally the fragrant one from the peculiar smell of the cow, and created by *Prajapati*

1. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. IV, Art. Cow (Hindu).

2. *Institutes of Vishnu*. Ch. XXIII. 57. Trans. Julius Jolly. S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 105.

3. *Institutes of Vishnu*. Ch. XXIII. vs. 56—57.

4. *Ibid.*, v. 61.

5. *Vedic Hymns*: Part II, IV. 1. 6. Translated by Hermann Oldenberg. S. B. E., Vol. XLVI, p. 308.

6. *Mahabharata*, XIII. 82.

from his breath. The story of the birth of this heavenly Surabhi is admirably told in the greatest Epic of India.¹ According to this myth, "Daksha, the creator, for the sake of the beings he had created, drank a quantity of nectar. He became gratified with the nectar he had quaffed, and thereupon an erection came out, diffusing an excellent perfume all round. As the result of that erection, Daksha saw that it gave birth to a cow which he called Surabhi. This Surabhi was thus a daughter of his, which had sprung from his mouth. The cow called Surabhi brought forth a number of cows, which came to be regarded as the mothers of the world." Side by side with this may be put the idea of *Kamadhen* or celestial cow akin to those of *Goshurun*, the soul of the cow as we meet in the *Zend Avesta*, already referred to above, and *Pouru Samedha Gaus*, the couple born of the only created bull out of which sprang up two hundred and eighty species, as we shall see in the chapter on the Zoroastrian attitude. *Kamadhen* along with its associate abstraction of plenty—the *Kalpa Vrishabha*—meets the needs of all classes of votaries without distinction of comparative accessibility of the articles cherished. The Bull of Sankara, as we have to take the idea of the sacerdotal and symbolical importance of bovine cattle, is typical of matter belonging to the mundane world, and her conspicuous position in the Hindu Temples represents the relationship between *Pasu* (matter) and *Pathi* (spirit) as they are technically called in Saiva philosophy. In the *Ramayana* is that familiar story of the cow of plenty in possession of sage Jamadagni which was attempted to be stolen by Kartaviryarjuna, how Rama, son of sage Jamadagni, killed the latter and restored it to its lawful owner, how the sons of Karthavirya slew Jamadagni in the absence of Rama, and how Rama finally avenged the death of that pious sage. The passage in *Ramayana* which describes the qualities of that wonderful cow of plenty helps us in a great measure to understand the mythical and symbolical qualities of the cow of plenty that came into existence when the sea of milk was churned by the Devas and Rakshasas with Mandara mountain as the churn and Vasuki Serpent as the line, in their quest after *Amritam*, the celestial nectar and elixir of life. According to this passage of *Ramayana*:²

"The cow from whom all plenty flows
Obedient to their saintly lord,
Viands to suit each taste outpoured.
Honey she gave, and roasted grain
Mead with sweet flowers, and sugarcane,

1. *Ibid.*, XIII. 77.

2. In this connection see *Hindu Theology, Vedic and Puranic*, pp. 167–168, by Mr. W. J. Williams (1900). Thacker Spink, Calcutta.

Each beverage of flavour rare,
 And food of every sort were there :
 Hills of hot rice, and sweetened cakes,
 And curdled milk, and soup in lakes,
 Vast breakers flowing to the brin
 With sugared milk prepared for him ;
 And dainty sweetmeats deftly made
 Before the hermit's guests were laid."

Such in short, are the potentialities of *Kamadhen*, the celestial cow.

There is a cow-heaven or *Go-Loka* with which we often meet in the Epics and Puranas.¹ It is the abode of heavenly Surabhi. According to the popular theory, the *Goloka* is above the three worlds, which is delineated to a paradise, the most beautiful place to live in, which was brought into being and assigned to the mother of the cows by Brahma who was quite pleased with the austerities of the former. According to another tradition,² Surabhi has her abode in *Rasatala*, the last but one of the underworlds with her four daughters the *Dikpalis*. Residence in the *Goloka* is the choicest cherishing of a departing soul, and it is only attainable through piety and austerity, one of the efficacious means of attaining the end being the vindication of human largess in the shape of the free distribution of cows according to set customs and formalities among deserving people.

Note must here be taken of the super-importance which the cows attained due to the associations of Sree Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, with herdsmen and cows during the course of his earthly ministry. Lord Krishna spent his childhood among cows and *Gopis*, the daughters of herdsmen. Lord Krishna, that age-famous paragon of cadences, lured both the cow and the *Gopi* with the melodious chant of his flute. It is but a familiar sight to the average Hindu to imagine Lord Krishna rallying round him all the citizens of Dwaraka as well as all the cows in the neighbourhood under the shade of Mandaragiri mountain which he held up with his own hand to afford cover to man and beast in that day of dreadful avalanche. Dr. Jacobi remarks in this connection³ that "this fact illustrates the high reputation which resulted from the connection with cows, since herdsmen were thought the first guardians and companions of the highest god."

Alongside with this, the consecration of the bulls and letting them loose as privileged beings to roam at their will and draw respect from all people is to be noted with particular interest. It is a familiar fact that the Bull is sacred

1. In this connection see Jacobi, *op. cit.*

2. *Mahabharata*, XII, 102.

3. *Loc. cit.*

to Siva, the god of destruction (*Laya*), in the Hindu Trinity. Consecrating bulls and letting them loose is an age-long practice, and is in all probability a relic of the queer old Vedic practice of sacrificing cows and other animals on the death of a human being, already countenanced above. This old practice has undergone a transformation with the changed attitude of the Aryans towards the cow, and on the occasion of the death of a male member of a family, his relations consecrate a bull of distinctive features according to *Shastric* rules and ritual and set it loose to wander at liberty. The freedom and privileges of the Brahmani bull are inviolate and even destructive work done by the bull cannot under ordinary circumstances be taken to task. This is one of the features of the Hindu provisions towards the propagation and preservation of the bovine species in India. Sir Monier Williams sees in it, and that rightly too, the "happy forethought" of the Hindus but for which this useful animal might have been exterminated in time of famine. The Brahmani bull supplies the necessary cover to the Indian cow, and in the absence of any scientific method of breeding cattle, it supplies potential agency for producing the best strains of Indian cattle. That the idea of consecration of bulls is quite an early one cannot be disputed. The latest excavations of the Archæological Department at Mahanjo Daro and Harappa in the Punjab prove this point beyond doubt. In the course of an article to *The Times*, London, on *Prehistoric India*, Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology with the Government of India, observes: "Of those recovered by Mr. Dikshit last season, the most striking, perhaps, is one depicting a Brahmani bull, the drawing of which shows great breadth and a fine sense of the decorative. Incidentally, it may be remarked, *this seal also proves that the breed of the Brahmani bulls was every whit as good 5,000 years ago as it is to-day.*"¹

Dr. Jacobi speaks of the practical effect of the veneration for the cow on the Hindu religion.² A profound sense of veneration and attachment invested the name of the cow with a sacerdotal halo of super-importance that every act concerning the treatment of the cow and her products should be done with strict vigilance according to the inculcations of the *Shastras*. "The cow became the centre of a peculiar worship, with proper Mantras³ and rites. The devotees have to recite the names of cows, and to bow their heads in reverence to them,⁴ and they were enjoined to subsist on the five products of the cow, to bathe using cow-dung at the time, etc. For some religious

1. The *Italics* are mine.

2. *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Art. Cow (Hindu).

3. *Mahabharata*, XIII, 80, 1—3; 78—246.

4. *Ibid.*, 78, 16.

purposes, the devotees had to live and to sleep among cows in a cow-pen, or to follow a cow everywhere, as did Dilipa in the story told in the second book of Raghuvamsa."¹

I will now conclude this chapter with a significant passage from the pen of Sir Monier Williams which strikingly summarizes within the compass of a few sentences the superb attitude of the Hindus towards the cow.² "In the forefront must be placed the worship of the cow and the bull. The utility of the cow as a source of nourishment to a people who never kill animals for food and of the ox and bull to the agriculturist who have no cart-horses for draught, is manifest. The cow is of all animals the most sacred. Every part of its body is inhabited by some deity or other. Every hair on its body is inviolable. All its excreta are hallowed. Not a particle ought to be thrown away as impure. On the contrary, the water it ejects ought to be preserved as the best of holy waters—a semi-destroying liquid—which sanctified everything it touched, while nothing purifies like the cow-dung. Any spot which a cow has condescended to honour with the sacred deposit of her excrement is for ever afterwards consecrated ground, and the filthiest place plastered with it is at once cleansed and freed from pollution,"³ while the ashes produced by burning this hallowed substance are of such a holy nature that they not only make clean all material things, however previously unclean, but have only to be sprinkled over a sinner to convert him into a saint..... As to the bull, he is dedicated to Siva, and constantly associated with the god as typical of generative power. Images of him are to be found in all Linga temples. The letting loose of a bull (*Vrishotsarga* or *Brishotsarga*)—stamped with Siva's pendant in cities like Benares and Gaya is fraught with the highest merit."

1. Jacobi, *op. cit.*

2. Sir Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, pp. 317—19. London. John Murray. (Fourth Edn.) 1891.

3. Sir Monier Williams' description of the popular belief among the Hindus about the efficacy of cow-dung and urine as purificatory agents, has a symbolical and physical sense. We have so far seen the symbolical or religious side of it. The physical side will be seen in the chapter on the medicinal values of the products of the cow under the therapeutic value of urea,

THE NEW SPIRIT IN INDIAN ART.

BY BHAVACHITRA LEKHANA SIROMANI N. VYASA RAM, ESQ.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

WE now come to the last of this series of lectures. It is without doubt a very awkward task for one to speak of contemporary matters. Perhaps here and there we might meet with a few shocks, which may be rude enough, against our long cherished sentiments in favour of personalities, styles and schools of artistic thought and activity. The previous lectures were intended, in fact, to prepare the way for receiving a few of these so-called shocks without being much affected thereby. At a certain stage in human life it becomes necessary to face the inevitable and bitter reality. In the excitement of youth and over-confidence in oneself, a person is easily led to accumulate accounts against himself freely until they assume a magnitude of frightful proportions which he cannot help facing in spite of himself. Such a situation calls for all his reserve force of presence of mind and discretion without which the consequence is certainly fatal and tragic. He sits up in blank amazement not unmixed with an under-current of inexplicable terror and anxiety. This feeling conquered, as the reality of the grim situation presents itself to him in greater clearness, he tries in all seriousness to discover ways and means for a reform. Similar is the situation of our country to-day whether in the field of art or any other. The time has come for us to consider seriously as to the next step.

It might not be inappropriate to say that India of to-day is in the same stage of a prodigal son brought up by the widowed mother with a decent property. The son had no one to advise him. His mother was too fond of him to deny him any of his wishes. He fell into evil company. He was taken out of his simple home and shown all the gorgeous pleasures of life. They were so new to him, so beautiful and tempting and they were not out of his means or reach. He fell into the snare and got deeper and deeper into its meshes. The time came when he found himself helpless. He could not come out of it. At first he *would not*. When the realization came and he wanted to get out of it he found that he *could not*. And in a moment of despair he made frantic efforts for freedom to get back to his simple shelter under the thatched roof. And in his mad desire to be out of this temptation he fled to the uninhabited forest and preferred to live a savage and a recluse. This is exactly what India is doing still. From one end to the other her thoughts swing. The equilibrium is not yet reached. It is time that the

happy medium be secured. And in considering the position of Indian art to-day we have to direct our attention between two extreme poles of artistic thought—the grand aristocratic style of Ravi Varma and the simple, back-to-nature style of the modern Bengal School—both of which mark the last point that can be reached by Indian artists on either side.

The Nineteenth Century.

Indian art was lulled to sleep for a considerable period after the shocks it suffered from the last of the Moghul kings. Artists from European countries gradually captivated the hearts of the Indian dandy courtiers. These artists produced pictures of human beings which looked not like mere pictures, but the actual persons themselves in flesh and blood. After the disappearance of large fresco paintings, India was more accustomed to small miniature portraits in which the artists of the Moghul period specialized and excelled. These were certainly of a very high order but they were tiny pictures. But lo! the new artists from Europe could paint pictures of the same size as the men themselves, in their very same colours, with beautiful background setting such as their own artists could not produce. It was indeed an inspired art that could produce such effects. India was far behind the times, of course. How shameful to lag behind thus! The Indian must take rapid strides in civilization and come up-to-date in his activities. How famished, stale, pale and lifeless those old-fashioned Indian portraits looked compared with these huge masterpieces that were ruddy and brimming with life! Those old things one must be ashamed of.

It was when feeling of this type was spreading like wild fire among the simple-minded folk who were dazed by the glitter of a foreign civilization, that a pioneer of the new thought arose out of the dark abyss of ignorance, to give material shape to their new aspirations and thoughts, in the person of the famous artist Raja Ravi Varma. With the born instinct for art that he had, he found no difficulty in grasping the main principles and rudiments of the new art. Infused by a certain amount of religious fervour he set himself to familiarize memorable scenes and incidents from the Itihasas and the Puranas. And the Indian mind, tending always towards the religious element in life did not take long to appreciate and encourage this effort with the result that to-day the name of Ravi Varma has become a household word in India and is in many cases even religiously adored.

The works of Ravi Varma may be roughly divided into three main groups: portraits, scenes from life (contemporary) and mythological representations. I am of opinion that his best works are to be found among the portraits, examples of which can still be seen at Mysore. Though he was not a portrait painter like Rembrandt who could see through his sitters, Ravi Varma must

certainly be accepted as one of the best portrait painters of modern India. The huge portraits of Their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Yuvaraja of Mysore are among his best productions in the line.

In depicting contemporary life, it is interesting to note, that aristocrat that he was, it was only the aristocratic element in life and art that exercised its full influence on him. He did not perceive beauty in simplicity. He did not seek beauty in the insignificant corners of his country but in ivory palaces and amidst velvet cushions. The gorgeous element in life attracted him. The gay brilliant colours of the drapery charmed him. And he painted them over and over again wherever he could possibly do so. That he had much of a love of Nature cannot be appropriately said when we see that in his paintings except as a background to fill up space it served no better purpose.

It is in the field of mythological art, like every artist, that Ravi Varma revealed himself more fully. It is here that he forms the subject of considerable controversy and discussion as we shall presently see. He has tried to adapt his themes to the new European style of painting in many ways. There are a number of things to consider in this connection. It was already pointed out in the first lecture, how the mythological field wielded immense influence over the minds of the average man and how great in consequence the responsibility was on the part of the artist in not misusing his powers of representation.

One of the first principles of Indian art, as was mentioned at the last lecture, according to the most ancient available writer on the subject, Sukracharya, was to paint religious pictures after a preliminary contemplation of the subject to such an extent as to create the full picture in the mind's vision before it was transferred to a material surface. The significance of this principle has been also pointed out already. But as I understand from sources whose authority cannot be denied Ravi Varma seemed to have made use of models for his paintings. So that most of his women who occupy the position of goddesses and great heroines are but portraits of living personalities. A number of factors have to be considered at this stage, to enable us to get a proper understanding of the situation.

The purpose of mythological painting is to take men to older times and make them feel the dead past as a living force, that, tracing their descent to that origin, they might try to live up to an ideal worthy of that ancestry. These pictures must be considered more as contemporary scenes than of the past times. The dress of the characters depicted, their manners and customs, their household furnishings and other decorations, none of these make an effort to recall to the mind of the spectators, scenes of a bygone age. Then, the persons depicted are not creations of the imagination to suit the needs

of the situations depicted but situations are adjusted to suit the persons available for posing.

Female Characters.

Ravi Varma's women are unique. They remind one of the great Western artist Titian who took pleasure, not in painting the delicate aspect of women but ripe, robust, mature womanhood. Ravi Varma's women are more masculine as a general rule than Australian women (with apologies to them) and rarely represent the ideal of the Indian woman. His figures of Sita in the Asoka forest, Damayanti and the swan, Sakuntala writing the love letter or adjusting her bark dress round her chest, Laxmi and Saraswati all display this same type of robust womanhood. Robustness is no mean thing if it were pure. But never a trace can be found of virginal purity on their faces. His women have, all of them, a stain in their hearts of which they are conscious. So that you do not see in any of them the innocent purity of the unsipped blossom but the expression of a conscious attempt to hide her sin with a forced smile that more quickly betrays her black spot. Thus they become hymns to the sensuous element in human life, more capable of pandering to lusty tastes than elevating the jaded mind to purer regions where one can dwell and forget himself.

To add to the effect his colour scheme takes a considerable part. Colours that to sensitive eyes are glaring and jarring and repulsive, find predominance in his paintings. That deep red and brown which stimulate no higher emotions in the human heart are his chief recipes. Of the significance and effect of colours I have already referred to in my first lecture. It remains for us to imagine then what must be the effect on the millions of India, produced by this system of mythological painting.

The Effect and the Re-action.

This was a period in which Indian life and thought were being anglicized in every department. And this new wave of artistic activity crowned the wave of anglicization. While Ravi Varma, through his art created in the people a certain amount of appreciation for scientific colouring of light and shade, he has also on the other hand stimulated the grosser tastes in them for jarring colour effects, and pleasant lusty womanhood in painting, to such an extent, that the path of the sincere well-wisher and reformer in the line has become very steep and beset with thorns on every side. India became, in consequence of the activities of Ravi Varma and his followers, a suburb of London and Paris in art, as she is a suburb of Manchester and Sheffield in commerce. As the art of Ravi Varma was a lifeless imitation and hybrid combination, similar features dominated the life of the average Indian of the period making it too prosaic and devoid of imagination.

The swing in Indian artistic thought towards the western ideal had reached far enough to need a re-action. And this originated on the other extreme of India. Ravi Varma's prosaic art spread its influences from the west end of India, commercial Bombay. The reactionary influences began their work from the east end of India—emotional and poetic Bengal. This movement, stimulated and patronized by E. B. Havell, the principal of the Calcutta School of Arts, gathered round it a strong band of relentless workers like Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose and began a counter activity in art.

Back to the Ancient Ideal.

The members of this re-actionary school saw that the beauty of Indian life was fading away in a mad pursuit of a foreign civilization and concluded that the only method of purging Indian art of its newly acquired evils and purifying it once again was to look back to the past for inspiration and guidance. Consequently they based their studies on the art of Ajanta, and the Moghul and Rajput schools of the mediæval period. Without doubt this movement produced some excellent artists who have won world-wide fame for their country through their productions. Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Kar, Asit Kumar Haldar, Gogonendranath Tagore and Mukul Chandra Dey are among the foremost of them in Bengal. These artists developed different styles of their own each specializing in his own way. Gogonendranath Tagore specialized in the ironical aspect of art and produced a series of extremely humorous and instructive cartoons illustrating the degeneration of Bengali life. He has now become an exponent of the new theory of cubism of which sufficient mention was made when dealing with European art.

The other artists started their work having before them the ideals of Ajanta mainly. One very interesting fact will be observed in this connection. The real leaders of this new movement who were inspired genuinely by the high ideals of the past gave a tremendous push to the cause of Indian art and brought to India undying fame through their works. In judging of the works of these artists we have to take into consideration a number of handicaps. In the first case most people know about the Bengal art only through the pictures appearing from time to time in the *Modern Review*. Unfortunately however, for reasons best known to themselves, those responsible for the selection of pictures for publication in the *Modern Review* do not seem to use enough discretion in the matter. It has to be even admitted that personal considerations in these matters are likely to exercise greater influence in the matter of selection than merit. So that invariably the best available material in Bengal is left out. If one wishes to get a proper idea as to these

works it is possible only from the Japanese wood prints published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Further the reproductions in the *Modern Review* are not often like the originals thus revealing considerable differences, especially in colouring.

With Abanindranath Tagore, the Moghul influences seem to have worked better. This can be seen from his paintings illustrating the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. His pictures of Shah Jehan dreaming of building the Taj Mahal and Shah Jehan's dying moments are extremely thrilling with emotion. "The jealous queen" of Asoka watching furiously a branch of the Bodhi tree adorned with her jewels by Asoka which won him considerable fame is certainly one of his masterpieces. Abanindranath had his early training under a European artist and only later became the leader of the new school. This special opportunity no one else in the movement had to this extent with the result that in point of precise and accurate drawing he is unrivalled and beyond criticism. His pictures are, as a general rule, perfectly well balanced and natural, his colouring neither too heavy nor too light. This same amount of consistency with the facts of Nature is not to be found in the later artists who became more mechanical imitators of the new style without being inspired from within. If the same training had been given to all the students, it might be considered that India had achieved her goal already to a considerable extent. But that was not to be as we shall see later.

Nandalal Bose to whom Ajanta possessed the greatest chance took that for his goal and worked far into the field of mythology. He is the only artist of the Bengal school who can wield the brush so deftly as to produce line effects similar to those bold brush sweeps and strokes that have been the cause of wonder for centuries, in the frescoes of the Ajanta caves. Though his style differs greatly from that of Abanindranath it is never ill-adapted to the subjects he treats. The speciality of his style can be realized greatly by seeing his pictures like Sati, the Dance of Siva, Kaikeyi and a host of other works. Imaginative to a high degree, capable of wielding his delicate brush alike in producing serious and hoary subjects in a manner unrivalled as also pictures of child life that would beat the imagination of children themselves, Nandalal Bose has made himself a wonderful medium of artistic expression in the Bengal school to a degree which none else has reached. Unlike his co-workers in the line, Nandalal Bose has too wide a heart to be a son of Bengal. His heart is too big even for the whole world. Simple and childlike in his thoughts and habits, high in his ideals, patriotic to the core, with a heart as large as large can be, this is the one artist, in my humble opinion, of whom India can never sufficiently be proud.

Asit Kumar Haldar might be said to be more a specialist in child-life painting. Perhaps one might even go to the extent of saying that he excelled better in line drawing with very delicate effects than colour work. Surendra-nath Kar, a nephew of Nandalal Bose, saw greater beauty in the life of the common folk and the labourers. He is never unnatural either in his proportions or in his colour and the subjects of his choice remind one of the great artists of the French Revolution, Millet, of whom it has been already mentioned in the lecture on European art. But his colouring is more gloomy and often dark with a very few exceptions. Mukul Chandra Dey, perhaps one of the very few Indian artists who have travelled very widely in foreign countries, has specialized in a quite different line of activity. I am not honestly much attracted by his colouring. In these days when the art of portraiture is dead and has come to be substituted by cheap photographic reproductions, he has taken a bold step in working portraits from sitting, direct from life. His small album with pencil portraits of many prominent persons of this country is sufficient evidence of his knack in the line for observing and depicting the real characteristics of his sitters. One would be tempted to call him the Rembrandt of India in portraiture in that his works reflect more the within of his sitters than their external features.

The Spirit of Fanaticism.

Apart from these few artists mentioned above it would be rather hard to find many other examples in whom the spirit of Indian art has been realized to any considerable extent. In other cases it became a matter of mechanical imitation of the style rather than the absorbing of the ideal. As the fashion of Indian art grew more and more common the spirit of fanaticism found itself gradually entering the minds of the later artists. Among the ideals of the new school, one was to copy and revive the style of Ajanta. But the new artists forgot that *the hand can never imitate the style of Ajanta unless the heart is inspired by the ideal of Ajanta artists*. If the ideal was there the style would come by itself. And thus it happened that in season and out of season, without discrimination and consistency, these new artists began to copy the Ajanta style making a mess of the artistic talent they discovered in themselves. It is this indiscriminate imitation that has given rise to those abnormally long eyes and twisted and distorted fingers which we find so common among later day productions of this school.

Beginnings of Misinterpretation.

These wilful distortions in art by these new artists had their origin in their ignorance of the theoretical problems of art in consequence of which they began to misinterpret some of the most important rudimentary principles of the subject. Firstly, the term "Indian art" came to be explained off in a

curious way. It was not only different from western art but ought to be against western art. Western art was quite naturalistic and insisted upon a perfect representation of light and shade. Indian art must, therefore, be something quite unnatural and must show no light and shade. It must be unnatural, because it is idealistic while western art was realistic. To make a piece of work idealistic one must see no trace of realism. It must be as far remote from and as inconsistent as possible with the unquestionable facts of Nature. It fell short of the ideal of Indian art to the degree to which it bore any resemblance to Nature in any aspect. Thus idealism was confounded to be against realism and the first distortions began. Where dreamy eyes were found it was explained that they were "*in the earth and yet not of the earth*". When crooked twisted fingers were seen one is told that they are the "*manifestation of grace and beauty in line*". And thus arguments were invented to suit these newly misinterpreted principles and justify them. Honestly to speak, I can clearly remember those early days of mine when I myself (with a few of my fellow-students) was a vehement advocate and an indefatigable supporter of this kind of idealistic art. But reflecting coolly over that at present, I feel that I must have upheld that distorted view of art to justify my own incapacity to produce any natural effects and because it was easier to finish a picture without light and shade. I do not mean to attribute this same origin to the view that others yet continue to hold, for they are far more capable and experienced in the line than I.

Imagination and Harmony.

Recent works of the new school are found to be beyond the comprehension of most Indians. It is argued by modern critics that the average Indian of to-day is too anglicized to be able to understand the beauty of such highly imaginative productions of art. It is my strong contention however that no amount of anglicization in the thoughts or habits of the Indian will ever deprive or deaden in him the capacity of appreciation of the ideals of his own country. On the contrary it is not the vision of the public that is distorted but the presentation of the artist and the explanation of the critic that need improvement.

There is a perverse notion held among some people that imagination to any extent is justifiable. But it is impossible to perceive any sense in this argument because imagination in a lunatic certainly, from that point of view, must be of the highest order since it soars higher than the ordinary man's and is of the most pervert type. Imagination becomes a vice the moment it transcends limits of practical possibilities. To be a dreamer and speculator is no great thing if there be no possibility of translating the dream into some more concrete and substantial form. It is argued that the

significance of such pictures can be realized only by the inner vision, which in very few cases have been opened. But a most simple fact is forgotten that *it is the physical vision that first observes a thing and only when it is satisfied, the inner vision can see the work and its merits.*

As every work of art has to appeal to the mind only through physical vision, the representation has to make itself pleasing to the physical eye through which to reach the inner vision. It would not be a bad comparison to say that it is like the policy of being in the good graces of a private secretary if one has to be properly received by the Prince or Princess. It does not mean that the boss, whoever it be, has not discrimination enough to see the merit in the visitor who seeks audience. But the question is whether the visitor is allowed first to meet the boss at all. However capable you are, offend the private secretary in some way and ten to one you can't see the boss. Your letters will not reach him, your petitions will be dismissed. And as apparel oft proclaims the man, the private secretary, as a human being, only looks at your apparel and your capacity to please him. If you satisfy him you are sure of a good recommendation. Otherwise you get the routine answer of the diplomat "His Highness is too busy". So too if the physical eye which is the private secretary of the mental one is not pleased with the presentation, the visitor is not given the audience sought and the work is rejected as unfit to be recommended for further consideration. And what pleases the eye is the harmony of a production as the apparel and outward behaviour pleases a private secretary. And by harmony we mean the pleasing effect produced in every picture as a result of an intelligent control exercised over the imagination in assigning the proper place to consistency of proportions and features. *Movement unless controlled by Rhythm must needs produce a condition of chaos and equally true is it where Imagination is not guided by Harmony.*

Aimless Productions.

Another very regrettable feature about the new school is that among most artists there has come to exist a craving to produce pictures without an aim. I mean by this that the artist does not think of a definite subject and make his composition to suit its needs but paints a picture quite aimlessly and tries to find out a title to call it by. This shows that intelligent effort is not found to be exercising as great an influence in their activities as the quality of drifting along where the current leads. It is as a result of such a process of painting that we find pictures most unsuited to their titles being produced without number, of which practically every one here is sufficiently aware.

This process is well exemplified in the host of paintings exhibited from time to time under the auspices of the Faculty of Arts in Bangalore by their patron artist, Abdur Rahman Chughtai. One cannot fail to see the subtleness of colour effects produced in his pictures and the easy strokes of line achieved in his productions. Nor can one fail to note the absence of life and emotion in the figures represented. His men and women are cold and bloodless, a repetition of the same prototype features without the least expression in every one of his paintings. With a very few exceptions we find him presenting to us the same woman in a hundred different poses of no significance, each styled by a name, between which and the subject it is not always an easy matter to record consistent connection. Where art is made use of merely to display the skill of lines and colouring without an intelligent effort to "*enshrine a noble idea*" (as the famous English artist Romney chose to put it), one cannot but feel that *it is brought down from its high level of usefulness to humanity as a medium of education to serve the purpose of a jugglery in colour and line.*

A Purpose behind a Picture.

A thing that serves no purpose does not justify its existence. Art is intended to be a living force and not a dead recreation. It was intended to appeal to the innermost recesses of every individual and elevate him from the toil and turmoil of the dreary world. And a work of art which is considered fit to be preserved in a museum as an object of wonder and curiosity, is, by the very selection for that purpose, evidently of little use to humanity. As George Santayana said, coins which we use every day are not preserved in museums and if they were we would not care for them. They are intended to benefit humanity and that function can best be fulfilled only when they are freely used. So too he argued, a picture of real educative value must come out into the hands of the public to fulfil its function and not lie hidden within the four walls of a museum neighboured by cobwebs. *And if a picture had nothing to teach humanity, if it had no aim behind it, if it were not the outcome of a genuine and noble inspiration, it was an idle pastime and had no justification for its very existence.* We have to remember this in the study of art in our country, especially at this stage when efforts are not wanting among a certain class of people, to create a taste and appreciation among the public for an art which serves no better function than that of jugglery.

South India to the Rescue.

It is with a certain feeling of pride, however, that we have to consider the effect of the activities of the new school of thought on South Indian artists who came under its influence. While Bengal, always emotional, soared beyond its normal limits and reached the extent of fanaticism in her art, South India

though represented by a handful of her artists in this new wave of artistic renaissance, brought her reason and intellect to bear upon these problems and struck out a new line for herself.

Two names appear before me in outstanding prominence in South India, Venkatappa of Mysore and Natesan of Hyderabad. These two artists evolved a style of their own which peculiarly reflected the ideals of the part of the country they lived in. It is believed by some that the style of Venkatappa is inspired by influences of the Moghul and Rajput schools. On the contrary I am of opinion that it must be only an improvement on the indigenous style of Mysore. This can be realized when one observes carefully the style adopted by ancient Mysore artists as can be seen in paintings available in the Jagan Mohan Palace collections at Mysore. In some of his pictures one can see definitely an attempt to depict South Indian life and ideals. It is gratifying to note at the same time that he has not fallen into the pitfalls of the average Bengal artist in the matter of light and shade and physical proportions.

It is a matter of regret, on the other hand, to feel that an artist of the type of Natesan of Hyderabad, one who could have brought undying fame to South India by his works, was not allowed to live longer, but was nipped in the bud by jealous Nature. His paintings of "Lightning," "the Family Priest," "at the Temple Door" and many others depict the full beauty of South Indian life to a greater extent than any South Indian artist succeeded in doing. His pictures were pleasant in colouring, simple in their emotions, perfectly natural and well balanced and full of life. Unfortunately however his works were not much published, because few of the Bengali artists could realize their significance and beauty and most of his originals lie scattered about in Calcutta with little chance of publication. Here was an artist, who, had he lived longer, would have given a tremendous push to the development of the South Indian ideal in art.

Andhra Efforts.

This wave of artistic renaissance spread its influence from Bengal to the Andhra country where patriotism is a more living force than other parts of South India. That interest in æsthetic development is not a matter of lip profession among these is clearly evidenced by the way they have commemorated the demise of their famous artist, D. Rama Rao, by the establishment of a permanent teaching art gallery. Among the recent artists, Bapi Raju seems to be very promising. These Andhra enthusiasts have their ideal in Ajanta too but they are at the same time trying to reflect the Andhra ideal in life, their indigenous manners and customs. Being yet a venture in its infancy it is idle to speculate over its future prospects. But it is a matter for congratulation that the necessity for artistic regeneration has been keenly

realized among them and has been translated into concrete activity in right earnest.

Possibilities in Mysore.

What will be the part that Mysore will play in the regeneration of Indian art? This is a question that will rise in the innermost recesses of your hearts to be answered by yourselves. With your permission, friends, let me put before you a few possibilities in the field which lie open to you, which you may, successfully and with certain benefit, make use of.

As I have already mentioned at the outset, India to-day is in a state of excitement and frenzy in her art as in everything else. This is further confirmed by the growing tendency in Bengal for the development of cubism and impressionism, two phases of art which never display a calm state of mind as we have already seen some time ago. On the one hand, we have the Bombay movement which is out and out an advocate of physical and external features to the utter neglect of the emotion and spirit. On the other, we have the Bengal school which day by day takes a leap forward in mid-air with nothing to support it, all emotion and no body. Whatever one might profess outside, we all know, feel and realize, I am sure, that it is but an excited condition which cannot last long. Sooner or later it must cool down and come within the limits of reason and consistency. And when it does come to that equilibrium, rest assured, the goal of Indian art will have come in sight. The path will have then become clear and definite. No one could deny it then. The question is who will start the process of cooling. *We realize it must be done and we will do it.*

I am of firm conviction that Mysore has great possibilities in the line. I am of firm conviction that facilities, natural and otherwise, are immense here. I am of firm conviction that the capacity for æsthetic appreciation is certainly above the average here. I am, above all, of firm conviction, that artistic talent in this State is latent to a very great degree, that there is a tremendous under-current of artistic energy seeking expression at every stage here. And this conviction, mark you, does not come from my lips. It is born of experience, of months of plodding among young rising artists of this very city whose names yet unknown to any one here, shall one day, not very far off, become household words among you. I see this vision before me as I think of India's great future in art, a vision in which each part of the country has grown its own flowers of special significance to adorn the crown of the great motherland. And I see your special flower also on her crown. Will you till the land and sow the seeds for that flower garden of artistic culture, of which you and I and the whole land can be rightly proud? Perhaps you ask

How to Set About the Task.

What in my humble opinion seems to be a constructive scheme of work in the right direction, I shall place before you for your consideration that you may approve or reject according as you think fit. It has been rumoured for some time past that your own artist Venkatappa is making serious preparations for the establishment of a permanent school of his own at Malleswaram. If that does come into existence and work as he expects it to, it is a matter of congratulation for the State. Allow me, however, to express my sincere feeling in these matters, that under the circumstances, individual effort without a substantial support and backing up either by the State or by a strong body of non-official enthusiasts, is never a reliable activity, it having numerous handicaps of its own. An institution might be guided by the inspiration of a single master-mind certainly, but for that guiding source to burden and encumber itself with the administrative aspect of the body is no healthy activity. Exceptions there are in the world to every general rule, but it is not with exceptions that man has to work in life.

We have to consider therefore what, with the material available at present, could be conveniently effected, in the revival of artistic tradition and talent here.

Improve the School of Art.

The first step towards the reformation has to be taken in the existing technical institute. It has to be admitted, unfortunately, *that the maintenance of technical institutes is becoming more a matter of fashion than of necessity in Indian life.* If it had been otherwise, it will be hard to understand why, when there are hundreds of other schools in a State, there should be but one technical institute to adorn the capital. On the contrary, *schools for technical training ought to be more widely organized so that the creative arts of a country might be helped to live and flourish under a healthy and favourable atmosphere.*

The system of teaching must be thoroughly overhauled. In the first case it must be realized sooner or later, that any education which confines its attention to the training but of the hand and the eye alone is absolutely useless, for *unless the mind is trained and given the artistic outlook, neither the eye nor the hand can long continue to be of real service in life.* To give a mind culture a system of special theoretical training must be introduced. Young men ought to know about the existence of rare monuments of artistic quality in their own soil. It is not enough to know only of their existence. If they are asked to admire them for the sake of their beauty only, the same course as has been taken in the Bengal movement will be repeated here. It must needs develop into a system of mechanical, indiscriminate imitation of the outer style and not the spirit. On the contrary, to be infused with the spirit of

those old masters, the only way is not merely to study their works, but in addition to study their lives and methods of work so that a genuine admiration for those great artists might be roused in young hearts. When that admiration is roused every work of theirs will thrill with that personal magnetism which will make the young student look upon these monumental works, not as objects of curiosity, but holy relics of noble aspirations and ideals. It is in this spirit that the study has to be done. Be it noted that no study of an abstract subject will bear the same fruit as that in which the personal element becomes a source of inspiration. *Let your young men take pride in their indigenous art and ancient masters in the line.*

Secondly, it is necessary to introduce, at the same time, the commercial aspect of art. It has been doubted by many whether an artist has any demand in life. I believe firmly that the scope before the Indian artist is far and wide if he works in the proper way. To speak about this would be to detain you another hour. Suffice it to say that it must be the look-out of the authorities to find out where lies the scope for the material they turn out. *Schools are not intended to manufacture students unfit for life.* It is a moral responsibility on the part of the Governments and cannot be played with. Your Government must know where the scope for its artists lies. It must create the scope for them if necessary. And it must give every one of them the needed chance. It will pay them to do it as they will realize it when they do it in right earnest. *A system of business psychology must consequently form part of the training given in these schools of art.* And when your school of art has succeeded in doing this the right step in the direction will have been taken. But above all, remember, *this can never be achieved, unless the head is an Indian who can enter into the spirit of Indian thought and Indian aspirations.*

Encourage Research in the University.

To improve the system of work in the School of Art, side by side you must institute research activity in the line in your University. Other Universities in India are taking up the work one by one. It is high time for the University of a model State to take the lead too. But research must be intelligent. It has become synonymous with research to go to deserted ruins for our study. It must be remembered that artistic culture is not yet dead in India. It is not enough to go to dead ruins for your research. There are living institutions yet that can provide you a fund of information for artistic study. I have suggested a few places in my last lecture where material for study is yet available. The religious mutts and institutions in India are yet in possession of invaluable material in the field. Direct your attention to them who can supply you the food you need. And let the fruits of your

labours go to provide the proper training for young men in your art schools.

Systematise Drawing in Schools.

It is certainly with a very happy feeling I noted some time ago the existence of an optional drawing course in your high schools here. But when I saw what the students learnt I was disappointed. You need to insist upon a regular system of instruction adapted to the conditions of the place. *It behoves you to find out such a system and insist upon its being carried out.* To ensure the proper working out of such a system, institute a regular supervision of it by competent persons. The Bombay Department of Education some time ago had a supervision of that type and sure enough it benefitted thereby. I do not know if it continues it still. But by investing any amount on securing greater efficiency in education no Government on earth has yet lost and you will only be the gainer thereby. And let the doors of your museums and art galleries be open to them for study. *Museums must not be treated as places for the collection and preservation of objects of curiosity but as resorts for study and research to your students.*

When you take up the work of reformation in right earnest, you cannot but fail to realize the immense benefit that will be derived by your young men thereby. The few suggestions I have tried to place before you, I trust you will not consider Utopian. Nor are they quite useless. I have tried to show you what good can be done with the material you have got already in your hands. With a little effort you may be able to make and pave the way for the growth of your young artists.

Conclusion.

Friends, I have tried during these four lectures to place before you a few ideas, that to my mind seemed deserving of our attention. I am conscious to the full extent of the indulgence you have given me all these days and I am grateful for it. The purpose of my lectures, I must confess, is not academical. It was my aim to place before you a few suggestions that you might with benefit carry out in your State. But at the same time I am aware of my limitations as a stranger in addressing you and it comforts me to feel that these limitations have been generously overlooked by you. I am aware that there is a fiery zeal and ambition among the inhabitants of this State to make it a model State in every way. It is my firm belief that your aim will be certainly achieved by taking up these few suggestions and pursuing the task of artistic regeneration with relentless effort. Where there is a will there is a way. The way is open and wide, that lies before you. *If you have the will, the grit and the fire of ambition in you, you cannot but achieve the goal you long for.*

A HINDU TRAVELLER IN SOUTHERN INDIA, 1695 A.D.

BY JADUNATH SARKAR, ESQ., *Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.*

IN the last quarter of the seventeenth century, a very clever, active and wide-awake Hindu travelled repeatedly through much of the tract now included in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. He was a keen observer with varied interests, and has left a faithful record of the scenes and incidents that he witnessed and the stories that he heard.

This traveller was Bhimsen, a Kayastha of the Saksena section, born at Burhanpur on the Tapti, in 1657. Like his father, he was a civil officer attached to the Mughal army in the Deccan, and had therefore repeated occasions for traversing the Deccan plateau from one end to the other in the course of Aurangzeb's endless campaigns in that country. Though he wrote in Persian, he was a pious Hindu, with a very religious turn of mind and fondness for visiting holy places. At the same time he had a reflective mood and wide experience of men and manners.

The diary of such a man is a document of unsurpassed value for our knowledge of India in that age. We get in it thumb-nail sketches of most of the cities and men of that age, from Agra to Tanjore, with longer descriptions of the more famous temples and scenes. Its value is specially great for the Madras Presidency, as it shows us the condition of that region as it was before the revolutionary changes made by the long course of wars beginning with the Mughal-Mahratta struggle for the Karnatak, and passing through the Anglo-French wars to the fall of Tipu at the end of the eighteenth century.

A few extracts are translated below, as likely to be of interest to modern readers in the South. The text followed is the British Museum manuscript.

Aborigines.

Between Karnul and Nandiyal the road skirts the hills, and *Banamānush* (jungle aborigines) were seen there. They do not know the language of the men who live at the foot of the hills, and the latter do not understand their speech. Their food is honey, roots of trees, and the meat of hunted animals. They all carry in their hands arrows without feathers or barb and *hamta* for hunting. They do not quarrel with other people, and live in the hills and pits under shady trees, sheltered from rain and sun. The lowlanders cannot ascend these hills, as there is no road. By some clever contrivance a few of these wild men of the Mallikārjun hill were brought before the prince (Kam Bakhsh) and given a little reward; but as they have no name (*i.e.*, use) for gold or silver, they displayed no sign of happiness at getting *mohars* and

rupees. They were brought near the same hill and set free, and then they climbed the hill so fast that it was not the work of human beings!

Malabar.

It is reported that, although in Malabar and the realms on that side, the kings are males, yet control over the country and all affairs is vested in women. Hence it is called *Tiriā-rāj* (or *Stri-rājya*). Every man has 10 or 11 wives, and similarly every woman has 10 or 11 husbands. The women of this country are beautiful, and spend far more than the (frugal) people of the Karnātak on their dress and food. This country is rich and spacious, with numerous temples of idols.

The battles of the kings are fought in this way: whenever there is a dispute on the frontier, the soldiers are drawn up in line of battle on both sides, the *barqāndāzes* of the two armies advance, aim their muskets at the sky and fire. Then venerable Brahmans engage in making peace, and the soldiers return to their respective countries, so that nobody is wounded or put to loss!

The elephants of Malabar are the best among the elephants in the world. Just as, among horses, the Arab and Iraqi are considered the finest breed, so are the elephants of this place.

Ceylon.

Ceylon is situated in the midst of the ocean, and elephants are found in its wilderness. Although there is a land route (in it), yet nobody has the power to travel by that route,—it is so full of danger, without any habitation whatever, and covered with jungles haunted by many kinds of fierce animals. Some traders who visit Ceylon have heard from the inhabitants of the island that this wilderness contains animals with the bodies of men and the heads of horses, bears, swine, or asses. The Ceylonese are mostly sorcerers. The king of the country is rich and does not oppress the traders.

Tirupati.

On the way from the imperial army before Jinji to Aurangzeb's camp (at Brahmapur, 1695), I reached the village of Tirupati at the foot of the hill of Lakshman,—called *Sitāchal*. From the foot of the hill, where the temple of Rāma stands, to the top where the temple of Lakshman is situated, the distance is five *kos*. From the foot of the hill to the peak that is visible from the spot, the distance is one and half *kos*. This road contains 52 gates (*gopuram*), each of which is in 7 or 9 stories, raising its head to the sky, some of them having cost three or four lakhs of rupees and many 30 or 40 thousand rupees. Each gate was built by a votary on the fulfilment of his vow previously made at that spot.

On the top of the hill most of the ground is level, especially near the temple of Lakshman. From the foot of the hill near the village of Tirupati to the gate of the temple of Lakshman, there are stone steps five yards in breadth.

Above the domes and raised platforms associated with Lakshman, there are planks covered with gilt copper. Though the gilt was laid long ago, yet it looks as fresh as if made recently.

It has two roads, one from the side of Tirupati, by which *palkis* can travel with great difficulty, and the other from the side of the jungle of Manshi-wāl (belonging to an ancient zamindar).

The *bhog* (food) offered to the god costs a large sum. After the offering it is distributed as *prasād*. Bread of millet and rice—wheat being unknown here and rice-eating being the custom of this country—are cooked so soft and clean that it deserves to be seen (and not described). Many beggars and poor Brahmans, contenting themselves with *prasād*, live in monastic cells here. Some *bairāgis* of Hindustan (northern India) have been living here for a long time past.

Two very large white birds come here every day at noon after (the god's) *bhog* and perch near the gate and the servitors of the temple feed them with milk and rice, after which they fly away to the jungle. Every night five or six hours before dawn, two large tigers come outside the gate and sweep the ground with their tails and then go away. These are what I heard.

The image of Lakshman is of black stone, three yards high. It is never moved. (Description of the car procession.) During the *faujdari* of Zulfiqar Khan, one lakh of rupees used to be paid to him as the *sāir* tax of the place.

KOVUR KIJAR

A DIPLOMATIC POET OF THE TAMILS:

BY S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR, ESQ.,

IN days gone by, when the Tamilakam was in its pristine glory, the kings and emperors of the Tamil land were in the habit of patronizing the Literati of the land. All sorts of men well versed in every kind of Literature used to congregate in large numbers in every court. Monarchs and chieftains had their special favourites. Poetess Auvai was the best friend of Adihamān Nedumān Anji; Arisil Kijār was the friend and philosopher of Sēramān Perunçēral Irumporāi; Çēran Çenkūttūvan was the patron of Sāttanār—author of Manimekalai, a Tamil classic of rare merit.

Sometimes, those poets or bards who were in favour of the monarchs used to visit the courts of other kings as ambassadors. Tolkāppiam—the oldest Tamil Grammar now available—devotes a section for ambassadors. Tiruvalluvar's Tirukkūral also contains a chapter of ten couplets on embassy. To continue the thread of our narrative, these minstrels and bards, though humble by birth and profession, yet had the sterling merit of averting impending wars among neighbouring states and also exercised so much influence over the monarchs to whom they were attached, as to wean them away from doing evil. Such a one was our poet *Kōvūr Kijar*. He was a poet in the courts of Chōla Nalankiḷḷi and Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, successors of Karikāl Vaḷavan the Great. The birthplace of our poet cannot exactly be determined now; but it is believed that he was the Headman of *Kōvūr*, a village in the Chōla kingdom. In days of yore, the Headman of a village was called *Kijar*, meaning he was the proprietor of that particular village. This poet, like many of his compatriots, had the boldness to ask his Royal monarch Nalankiḷḷi to desist from his engagements with one of his disobedient subordinates. Nalankiḷḷi was the king of the Chōla dominions at that time. One Nedunkiḷḷi—probably one of his cousins—was his viceroy over certain portions. He rebelled against his sovereign and he was attacked by his overlord. Nedunkiḷḷi went and shut himself up in *Āvūr*, one of the strongholds of the empire. This *Āvūr* was besieged by Nedunkiḷḷi and the siege was not raised for a long time. Pitying the situation, our bard *Kōvūr Kijar* went and asked Nedunkiḷḷi either to open the gates and fight out the enemy or surrender himself to his overlord and obtain his pardon. He describes the situation of the inmates of the fortress graphically thus:—
“Yonder you see male elephants roll on the ground roaring like thunder for

want of food and a good bath in ponds with their mates; look at the babies there crying for want of milk; observe here the damsels tying their hairs without the usual ornamental flowers and oil; don't you see these good men had no bath for days together; if you are righteous, say that this land is yours and here it is; if you are unjust, come out and fight with your opponent and drive him out. It is a disgrace to shut yourself up within the castle. Now open the gates." Thus admonishing he brought the recalcitrant Nedunkilli to his senses and avoided further misery.

Some time after, he again revolted and was again besieged. This time the place was *Urayur*, the capital of the Chôlas. This time the poet, happily for Nedunkilli, used his diplomacy with the suzerain. He went to him and represented that his opponent was neither a Pandian nor a Çera but a kith and kin of his own family, bearing the same garland of Āthi like him. "It is an established fact that both the opponents could not win. One would win and the other has to lose. If any of you win or lose, the credit or discredit lies with the family. The other kings will laugh at you. For God's sake raise up the siege." Thus appealing to the family pride, he persuaded Nalankilli to raise the siege and leave him unmolested. On another occasion a poet, Tattan the younger, went to Urayur. Nedunkilli who was there mistaking him for a spy ordered him to be put to death. It so happened that our bard *Kōvūr Kijar* was touring in those parts. On hearing the woeful plight of the man Kijar went to the court of the arrant chief and informed him: "He whom you took for a spy is no spy but a bard of average ability who goes in quest of patrons like birds flying even to distant lands when they smell delicious fruits. As he has nobody to fear he walks majestically unlike men who hang down their heads in fear of enemies. You would do well to release him." Thus spoke our diplomatic poet and had him released.

On another occasion, King Killi Valavan quelled a revolt of one of his vassals and took his sons as prisoners. They were very young. The king ordered them to be trodden under foot by huge elephants. Our poet who was there at the time informed the king that "these urchins who cry with fear even at the sight of your magnificent court are now radiant with joy on seeing the gorgeously adorned elephant little suspecting that these elephants are coming to trample them. Under the circumstances it would be unbecoming of you to take away the lives of these innocent boys. Your ancestors are renowned for the deeds of mercy which have been sung by many poets." So soothing his wrath, he got them released.

These minstrels and bards used their influence not for destruction but for the good of the country. When they were sent on special missions to

other courts, they not only accomplished the purposes for which they were sent, but also tried to avoid conflict by their sweet admonishing speeches. They were not in the habit of advising their kings to issue ultimatums to their opponents. They always spoke the truth whether it pleased their patrons or not. There are many odes in Pura Nānūru describing graphically the diplomacy of these poor poets which are sealed books to the present generation. Scholars would do well to dive deep into the ancient Tamil Literature and bring out all these glorious acts to light.

MYTHS REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF SEX.

BY P. K. GODE, ESQ., M.A.

WE have pointed out already in the previous parts of this Journal three myths which may be regarded as the outcome of three different epochs of civilization but all of them bearing on the same problem, *viz.*, the Origin of Sex, and having analogous characteristics.

The Origin of Sex as stated in the Hindu myth quoted by us, *viz.*, Manusmṛti I, 32, 39, will be considered by some people as of a later date inasmuch as chapter I of the Manusmṛti is considered by some scholars as a later addition to that work.

The following myth from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad is, however, quite analogous to that in the Manusmṛti and seems to possess all the pristine purity which characterizes the Upaniṣads:—

In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka I, 4, the creation of the manifold world from the unitary soul has been described. It is stated that in the beginning this world was *Atman* alone in the form of a person. This *Atman*, being alone, had no delight. He desired a second. He was indeed as large as a woman and a man closely embraced. He caused that self to fall into pieces. Therefrom arose a husband and a wife. Therefore, this (is true): “Oneself is like half-fragment” as Yājñavalkya used to say. Therefore, this space was filled by a wife. He copulated with her. Therefrom human beings were produced.

It will be seen that when sex-differentiation has been admitted as a working factor in the process of creation, no prophets are needed to explain the creation of the human beings. The problem before us is how sex-differentiation first began and the explanation of this problem given by the early mind is that the Female Sex arose from the Male Sex. This statement does not supply us with the missing link of the creation and stands on the same footing as the present-day theory which tries to trace the origin of the living matter from the non-living matter. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka the *Atman* is said to have provided a companion for himself as he felt lonely, while in the Christian myth the lord God provided a companion to Adam for the same reason. This *raison d'être* of the sex-differentiation is quite anthropomorphic but not convincing. It is nothing else than the theory of the spontaneous creation in disguise.

COCK-FIGHTING IN TULUVA.

BY B. A. SALTORE, ESQ.

I

THE origin of some games is lost in antiquity. Cock-fighting is one of such games. We have to see into the olden times when, perhaps, wild hunters wandered over the land, clearing it of roaming beasts, and taming the animals which they thought would serve them best. It might be that in our part of the country, as elsewhere, the bold huntsman first swept the land clean of dangerous beasts, and then, turning his attention to the powers of Nature, thought of the more humane agencies of human welfare. And then determined upon the idea of offering a sacrifice to such powers; and pitched upon the cock, which appealed to him to be the most warlike of birds, to be the best live-sacrifice he could offer to the spirits around him. The prevalence of hero-worship in the shape of a belief in the Bhuta worship, and the extreme fondness of the people for cocks even to the present day, afford the best testimony for such an explanation. And gradually, perhaps, in course of ages, the desire of men to propitiate the gods by continual sacrifices, might have lost its strength with Time, and might have caused the craving of men to satisfy themselves rather than the higher beings. However that might be, there is no doubt that in India, and consequently in Tuluva, cock-fighting claims a "classical origin" not exactly though in the form we have it at present, but in its more humane and more understandable shape, the worship of cocks. The saying that in the "Mahabharata" for example, allusion is found to the ceremonies performed in honour of the cock would by itself not be of any great value; but when we find such a great Rishi like Vishwamitra performing such ceremonies, the allusion loses its triviality, and becomes a source of strength to the defenders of the game. And let me give in full the story as we have it in the "Mahabharata".

It deals with the birth of Mahāsenā or Skanda. The God of Fire, it was alleged, had co-habited with the seven wives of the seven Rishis. The wife of Rishi Angirā, named Swāhā, had assumed, in reality, the shapes of the seven wives of the seven Rishis, and had tempted Agni, the God of Fire. All the wives save Arundhathi were divorced. Swāhā threw seven times into a lake the semen of Agni, and this was the cause of the birth of Skanda or Mahāsenā. The only one of the seven Rishis who knew all about the doings of Swāhā, and who, therefore, knew that all, except Swāhā, were innocent, was Vishwamitra. And he followed Skanda. "And he offered divine

prayers to Mahāsenā and for the good of the world, he performed ceremonies in honour of the cock, the goddess Shakthi, and the first followers of Skanda", and although he repeatedly informed the great Rishis of the innocence of their wives, "they abandoned their wives unconditionally" (Section CCXXV, page 687, Vana Parva, Pratap Chandra Roy's Eng. Trans. of the "Mahabharata").

And Mahāsenā must have had the double pleasure of seeing the transformation of one of his rare sacrifices into a common game, and of seeing it becoming the favourite pastime not only with the people of India but with those of other lands as well. For cock-fighting, or as it was more familiarly known, "cocking" enjoyed popular favour both in England and outside it. "Like bear-baiting, cock-fighting boasted a classical descent, and established itself in England in the early Middle Ages" (Shakespeare's *England*, Vol. II. An article on cock-fighting by Sir Sydney Lee). Indeed, the history of this game in England deserves some notice: it was, for some time, a natural game rather than a local sport. And how could it be otherwise when princes and people found time to patronize it, and when its name resounded in the pages of the famous dramatists? "Throughout Shakespeare's lifetime 'cocking' was a widespread Sunday recreation, both in London and in the country. In much the same fashion as bear-baiting, the pastime was condemned for its brutality by Puritan preachers, and was defended for its manliness by profane writers" (Shakespeare's *England*, Vol. II). Unlike in Tuluva it found favour in the eyes of the younger generation in England. "Fitz. Stephen, in 1174, described how London school-boys brought every Shrove Tuesday cocks of the game to their masters, and all the forenoon they delighted themselves in cock-fighting. The boys were often content with an inferior form of the pastime, and confined themselves to 'cock-throwing' i.e., flinging the missiles at the cocks. Shrove Tuesday was specially associated with "cocks of the game" down to the eighteenth century, but the cocking season extended to all the months of the year save June and July. The sport was finally organized in Henry VIII's reign, when the first cock-pit was constructed by the king for its regular exercise. Before 1536 Henry VIII built a cock-pit in St. James' Fields or Parks (near what is now Birds cage walk), open ground which the king had added to the precincts of the Palace at Whitehall. The royal cock-pit survived till 1816. The building was elaborately contrived, and was, from the time of Queen Elizabeth, frequently devoted to dramatic performances as well as to cock-fighting. Throughout the sixteenth century, noble sportsmen purchased at high rates cocks of the game or game cocks, which were systematically trained and trimmed for fighting and heavy wages were laid by

their owners on promising birds. Although there is no proof that Queen Elizabeth was herself personally interested in the sport it grew in all directions in her time. Cock-pits becoming more numerous in London..... Shakespeare bears witness to the Londoner's familiarity with the cock-pit, when he describes at their cock-pit the theatre at which his play of Henry V was produced in 1599" (*Henry V*, Chorus I, Line 11). The dramatist makes an intimate reference to the sport when Cloten deplores in his clownish arrogance that his rank precludes him from fighting ordinary persons. 'Every Jack-slave hath his bellyful of fighting, and I must go up and down like a cock that nobody can match' (*Cymbeline* II, 1. 23-25). The boisterous cries of the spectators, when cock-fights were in progress, are often noticed by the Elizabethan dramatists..... A further impetus was given to the practice of the sport in Shakespeare's *England* by James I's enthusiastic patronage. "He appointed a 'cock-master,' a royal officer who was responsible for the breeding, feeding, and training of game cocks, for fighting in the royal cock-pit. Throughout his reign, cock-fighting was a favourite pastime of the king" (Shakespeare's *England*, Volume II). What is more interesting to note is the fact that the game found support from quite a different quarter. "Fighting cocks were in the seventeenth century chiefly bred in Norfolk, and in 1607 George Wilson, Vicar of Wretham in that country, championed the pastime in a work entitled "The commendation of cocke and cocke-fighting wherein is shown that cock-fighting was before the coming of Christ" (Shakespeare's *England*, Volume II). The rest of the history of the pastime is easily told. Saner ideas prevailed upon the people, and Law came on its way, although "public taste then rendered the legal restrictions inoperative. The sport flourished through the eighteenth century and when the statute of 1849 forbade its open practice, it was still on occasions indulged in surreptitiously" (Shakespeare's *England*, Vol. II). The above long account of the pastime as it was prevalent in England is given to show how the game, far from being the native sport of Tułuva, did also claim recognition in other lands with this difference, however, that whereas it rose to high eminence in those lands, by being a favourite game with the royalty which patronized it, and with the populace which practised it, it never received such distinguishing encouragement in Tułuva, where it seems to have ever been more familiar with the people rather than with the princes, for which reason it has successfully lived through the ages, in almost much the same form as we see it held now-a-days. And, moreover, in Tułuva, it was never very popular with the school boys and children, and it rarely had the privilege of having itself ennobled in literary works. Yet all the same, in Tułuva we see it practised with the same enthusiasm and with

the same devotion with which it was certainly played in times long past. It is very curious to observe that the game should have disappeared in a land where restrictions on animal and bird sacrifices are comparatively fewer than in a country where the traditional rule has been to avoid as much as possible the killing of the poor creatures for mere amusement. And, yet, the main reason why the pastime died away in England, though reluctantly, with the threats of Law, and why it remains to this day in Tuḷuva, and is as popular as ever, is to be found perhaps, in the fact that unlike as in England, here the game has been reduced to a veritable art, with its own almanac, its own rules, and its own trained men.

II

Before we see something of the almanac it would be well to dwell upon the game itself and upon some of its general features. The cock-fight in the Tuḷu language is called "Kōrida Aṅka" and the place where it is held is called "Aṅkada Bākiyār". "Kōri Kottuni" is to get up a cock-fight. The place chosen for a cock-fight is, generally, that which faces a "Bhuthastana", and sometimes, the game is also held in a field. Although any place would do for holding a cock-fight, yet the belief of the people that their patron-devils would like to see the pastime held in the vicinity of the "gudis", makes it almost a rule to hold the game in a place where former fights took place. This game is witnessed by the lower caste people, led by the Bunts, who are the great patrons of and participators in this pastime. The game will be in full swing in or about the months of May and June, when the ryots (and in Tuḷuva, it is the hardy Bunts who are generally the ryots) find time heavy on their hands. These are the Tuḷu months of Paggu and Besha. The game rarely runs in the months of Kartel and Āṭe, although it may certainly be played in Suggi. For the ryots are very busy in Āṭe, because it is then that the monsoons burst over our land, and the farmers have not time enough to tease the life out of the poor birds. Once the south-western monsoons have slackened their rigour, then the people renew their game. And early in the months of Nirnal (October) and Bontel (November) such of the people who can snatch away some leisure, can be seen hurrying to the Aṅka with cocks in their hands.

III

A steady adherence to the pastime with persistent and careful observation of every-day detail, have enabled the people of Tuḷuva to form a sort of calendar according to which they let cocks fight against each other. The cock almanac, if it can be called so, is called in Tuḷu "Kōḷi or Kōri Panchanga". It is given in full here.

Koli Panchanga.

Shuddha--on the first day (called) Pādya.

(Cock)	(Its fate)	
Red	Youth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the red cock will win over the yellow and the black cocks.
Black	Old age	
Yellow	Death	
White	Birth	
Panchavarṇa	Infancy	

Shuddha--on the second day (called) Bidige.

Red	Old age	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the Panchavarṇa will win over the red and the black cocks.
White	Infancy	
Black	Death	
Yellow	Birth	
Panchavarṇa	Youth	

Shuddha--on the third day (called) Tadige.

Red	Death	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the white cock will win over the red and the Panchavarṇa.
Black	Birth	
Yellow	Infancy	
White	Youth	
Panchavarṇa	Old age	

Shuddha--on the fourth day (called) Chowthi.

Red	Birth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the yellow cock will win over the white and the Panchavarṇa.
Black	Infancy	
Yellow	Youth	
White	Old age	
Panchavarṇa	Death	

Shuddha--on the fifth day (called) Panchami.

Red	Infancy	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the black will win over the white and the yellow cocks.
Black	Youth	
White	Death	
Yellow	Old age	
Panchavarṇa	Birth	

Shuddha--on the sixth day (called) Shasti.

Red	Youth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the red will win over the yellow and the black cocks.
Black	Old age	
White	Birth	
Yellow	Death	
Panchavarṇa	Infancy	

Shuddha--on the seventh day (called) Saptami.

Red	Old age	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the Panchavarṇa will win over the red and the black cocks.
White	Infancy	
Yellow	Birth	
Black	Death	
Panchavarṇa	Youth	

Shuddha--on the eighth day (called) Ashtami.

Red	Death	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the white cock will win over the red and the Panchavarṇa.
White	Youth	
Yellow	Infancy	
Black	Birth	
Panchavarṇa	Old age	

•Shuddha—on the ninth day (called) Navami.

Red	Birth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the yellow will win over the white and the Panchavarṇa.
Black	Infancy	
Yellow	Youth	
White	Old age	
Panchavarṇa	Death	

Shuddha—on the tenth day (called) Dashami.

Red	Infancy	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the black will win over the white and the yellow cocks.
Black	Youth	
Yellow	Old age	
White	Death	
Panchavarṇa	Birth	

Shuddha—on the eleventh day (called) Ekadashi.

Red	Youth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the red will win over the black and the yellow.
Black	Old age	
Yellow	Death	
White	Birth	
Panchavarṇa	Infancy	

Shuddha—on the twelfth day (called) Dwadashi.

Red	Old age	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the Panchavarṇa will win over the red and the black.
Black	Death	
Yellow	Birth	
White	Infancy	
Panchavarṇa	Youth	

Shuddha—on the thirteenth day (called) Trayodashi.

Red	Death	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the white will win over the red and the Panchavarṇa.
Black	Birth	
Yellow	Infancy	
White	Youth	
Panchavarṇa	Old age	

Shuddha—on the fourteenth day (called) Chaturdashi.

Red	Birth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the yellow will win over the white and the Panchavarṇa.
Black	Infancy	
Yellow	Youth	
White	Old age	
Panchavarṇa	Death	

Shuddha—on the fifteenth day (called) Humpmē.

Red	Infancy	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the black will win over the white and the yellow.
Black	Youth	
Yellow	Old age	
White	Death	
Panchavarṇa	Birth	

(On) Sunday	the ascending node	or "Caput draconis"	is in the East
(On) Monday	"	"	South
(On) Tuesday	"	"	West
(On) Wednesday	"	"	North
(On) Thursday	"	"	East
(On) Friday	"	"	South
(On) Saturday	"	"	North

Bahula—on the first day (called) Pādya.

Red	Old age
Black	Death
Yellow	Birth
White	Infancy
Panchavarṇa	Youth

On this *tithy*, the Panchavarṇa will win over the red and the black.

Bahula—on the second day (called) Bidige.

Red	Death
Black	Birth
Yellow	Infancy
White	Youth
Panchavarṇa	Old age

On this *tithy*, the white will win over the red and the Panchavarṇa.

Bahula—on the third day (called) Tādige.

Red	Birth
Black	Infancy
Yellow	Youth
White	Old age
Panchavarṇa	Death

On this *tithy*, the yellow will win over the white and the Panchavarṇa.

Bahula—on the fourth day (called) Chowthi.

Red	Infancy
Black	Youth
Yellow	Old age
White	Death
Panchavarṇa	Birth

On this *tithy*, the black will win over the white and the yellow.

Bahula—on the fifth day (called) Panchami.

Red	Youth
Black	Old age
Yellow	Death
White	Birth
Panchavarṇa	Infancy

On this *tithy*, the red will win over the black and the yellow.

Bahula—on the sixth day (called) Shasti.

Red	Old age
Black	Death
Yellow	Birth
White	Infancy
Panchavarṇa	Youth

On this *tithy*, the Panchavarṇa will win over the red and the black.

Bahula—on the seventh day (called) Saptami.

Red	Death
Black	Birth
Yellow	Infancy
White	Youth
Panchavarṇa	Old age

On this *tithy*, the white will win over the red and the Panchavarṇa.

Bahula—on the eighth day (called) Ashtami.

Red	Birth
Black	Infancy
Yellow	Youth
White	Old age
Panchavarṇa	Death

On this *tithy*, the yellow will win over the white and the Panchavarṇa.

• Bahula—on the ninth day (called) Navami.

Red	Infancy	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the black will win over the white and the yellow.
Black	Youth	
Yellow	Old age	
White	Death	
Panchavarṇa	Birth	

Bahula—on the tenth day (called) Dashami.

Red	Youth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the red will win over the yellow and the black.
Black	Old age	
Yellow	Death	
White	Birth	
Panchavarṇa	Infancy	

Bahula—on the eleventh day (called) Ekadashi.

Red	Old age	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the Panchavarṇa will win over the red and the black.
Black	Death	
Yellow	Birth	
White	Infancy	
Panchavarṇa	Youth	

Bahula—on the twelfth day (called) Dwadashi.

Red	Death	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the white will win over the red and the Panchavarṇa.
Black	Birth	
Yellow	Infancy	
White	Youth	
Panchavarṇa	Old age	

Bahula—on the thirteenth day (called) Trayodashi.

Red	Birth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the yellow will win over the white and the Panchavarṇa.
Black	Infancy	
Yellow	Youth	
White	Old age	
Panchavarṇa	Death	

Bahula—on the fourteenth day (called) Chaturdashi.

Red	Infancy	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the black will win over the white and the yellow.
Black	Youth	
Yellow	Old age	
White	Death	
Panchavarṇa	Birth	

Bahula—on the fifteenth day (called) Amavasya.

Red	Youth	} On this <i>tithy</i> , the red will win over the yellow and the black cocks.
Black	Old age	
Yellow	Death	
White	Birth	
Panchavarṇa	Infancy	

The almanac deals with all the thirty days of a month. Every month is divided into two equal parts. Shuddha or Shookla and Bahula or Krishna. There are fifteen "tithies" in each fortnight, and each *tithy* begins at any moment of the solar day. It is one-twentieth part of the moon's synodical month, and varies with her motions from the sun. It ranges from 66 to 54

Indian hours. The *tithies* run for a fortnight. The fortnight from new to full is called bright Shuddha or Shookla or brightening; that from full to new is called dark, Bahula or Krishna, Vadya or darkening (pages 610—613, *The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* in three volumes. E. Keys. The Government Press, Madras, Vol. I, "The Eras and Calendars used in Southern India", 1885). The names of the *tithies* for the dark as well as for the bright fortnight are the same. Let us take one *tithy* and read it as it is understood by the people of Tuḷuva Nāḍu.

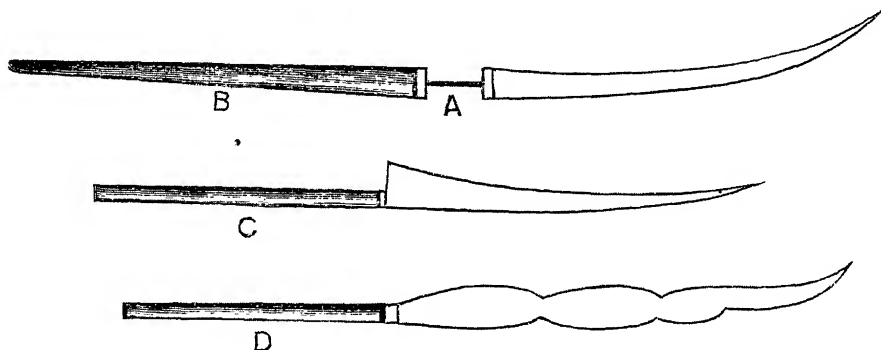
In Shuddha or bright fortnight, on its first day called Pāḍya, the red cock will be in its youth, the black one in its old age, the yellow one will meet with death, the white one will only be born (that is, will be as inexperienced as if it were to be born on that day); and the Panchavarṇa cock (that is, a cock in white, black, red, yellow and the green colours) will be in its infancy. Therefore on this day, the red cock will win over the black and the yellow cock, the former of which, perhaps, might, and the latter certainly will, die. On the second day of the bright fortnight Shuddha, which second day is called Bidige, the red cock will be in its old age; the white one in its infancy; the black will meet with death; the yellow one will be born and the Panchavarṇa will be in its youth. Therefore, on this day, the Panchavarṇa cock will win over the red and the black cocks, the former of which might, and the latter certainly will, die. Hence on the day called Pāḍya, he who carries with him a red cock will have more chances of winning in the game than others; while on the second day called Bidige, the Panchavarṇa cock will be the luckiest of all. The same reading holds good for the remaining *tithies* of the Shuddha and Bahula fortnights. The people themselves carefully observe *tithies* and the fortnights and such of them who are unable to do so, generally seek the aid of their neighbours, the Brahmins, who will be ever ready to tell them the names of the *tithies* and the months. It must not be supposed that the Tuḷu people are scrupulously careful about the exact limits of the *tithies*—the pastime is rarely indulged in before midday and it reaches its highest enthusiasm at about two or three or even four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Aṅkada-i-Bākiyār is almost filled with expectant people and crowing cocks.

IV

The place chosen is, generally, as has already been said, in front of a "Bhutastana" (a gudi of a devil). Two men hold two cocks at a distance which ranges between 6 and 10 feet. The cocks used for the game are of special breed. They are generally of five kinds: red, black, white, yellow and Panchavarṇa (that is, five colours). There are again what are known as "Ūru Kōḷi" or country cocks, "Cochi-Kōḷi" or Cochín cocks, and "Paika

Kōli" or the country cocks of the great size. Only a country cock will be left to wage its war with a country cock. The country cocks (Ūru Kōli) are usually trained in the course of one year. The other two kinds require a two years' training before they are let out on the field. Then again cocks are of different designation: those which are slightly black or slightly white are said to belong to the "Kaḍle" class, those which are red to the "Uriye" (Uriye means a red fowl) class; those which are yet white to the "Korungu" (Korungu or Koringin means a crane, stork) class; those coloured red ochre "Keñjele" (Keñjele means udder) class; those which are very black to the "Kakke" (black crow) class; and finally those which are very heroic in the struggle are called "Bante" (the warriors). Of all those kinds, those which are perfectly black, without any single spot of any other colour on them, are the most liked and the most trusted.

Having pitched upon the cocks, and having consulted the almanac or sometimes without looking at the *tithies* even, the people throng to the Añka with cocks in their hands. Surrounded by the people, two men will, at the stated distance, sit half on their legs, opposite each other, holding the cocks between their hands, their left hand caressing the left side of the cock and their right hand generally on the bird's right side. To the right leg of the bird will be tied a knife of a particular kind always deadly poisoned. The following are the shapes of the knives.



Note:—A is a piece of wood which is tied to the leg of the bird. B. C. D.—wooden handles.

Of these, the first is the most common, and the third more in use than the second. The knives, which vary in length—some have blades three or four inches in length and some, perhaps, more, are always double-edged and are tied to the hind finger of the right leg of the cock. The men who thus hold the cock ready to fight against each other, are not amateurs in the game, but veterans with years of experience behind them. There is no cocking by

boys in these parts and the younger generation stands in the second row of spectators, for fear of receiving a fatal scratch. If the men who hold the cocks are novices in the pastime, they sometimes pay the penalty by losing their lives, for the poisoned blades wound the birds as well as men. And death due to blood poisoning at these pastimes is not uncommon in Tuľuva. The cocks thus ready, stand facing each other, waiting to begin the combat. Poor birds! Encouragement from their masters with their desperate desires to do or die, born of instinct, almost makes them supremely gallant to see, with their tails proudly waving in the air, and their throats venting forth confident cries! Exactly at the same time, the birds are let against each other, and in the twinkling of an eye, with raised legs, the birds fly at each other, and in another second, the men who had let them go, catch them again. And that which first wounds the rival is the winner. Sometimes a small scratch will be sufficient to kill the rival cock; sometimes, the beaten cock will again be encouraged to fight, by its owner, who, after taking it to a place near by, will pour cold water over its head or will air it through the anus. And then the wounded bird will re-appear on the scene and fight its opponent with such a tenacity and courage, that "as brave as a game cock" has passed into a proverb with the people of Tuľuva. The method of airing through the anus is a very curious one, and they say cocks once beaten, if they survive this process of resuscitation, generally strike down cock after cock in the combat, much to the pride of their owner. There are clever people well experienced in this art of reviving the cocks, and the men who thus heal the birds—"the experts" and who prepare them for another struggle, are either given some remuneration in the shape of the indispensable toddy, or invited to a dinner of the conquered fowls. For the conquered cocks pass away to the man whose gallant bird was the cock of the day. Betting of course is very common on these occasions. Persons who gamble on cocks are not necessarily the owners of the birds. The lowest amount thus gambled for is six pies, and the highest 200 rupees.

There are some superstitions connected with this game. On Sunday a man will not carry his cock to the east, for there will be the diurnal situation of the ascending node (or Caput Draconis) and it is bad luck for him to go in that direction. On Monday he will not go to the "Aňka" in the south, for the same reason. On Tuesday he will not go to an "Aňka" situated in the westerly direction. It will be a bad fortune for him if he were to carry his birds to the north on Wednesday. The east being unlucky, on Thursdays, he will not visit an "Aňka" that lies in that direction. On Friday he will not go southwards. And on Saturdays the unlucky north shall not see his cocks. These rules will be seen in the almanac itself. Some other customs

ruling the game are the following: When the birds are brought by the people to the Añka, if a cock were to crow and fly away from the field, it is left off as unfit. And in the course of a game, if one bird were to stand on its two legs firmly, and the other were to crow, and to walk off proudly, then it is the latter that is considered as having won the game. And further, if a cock is wounded by another which, however, silently eats away corn, standing on its legs, then, the birds are not let against each other, for the same is a drawn one. The pastime ends with the proud cries of the cocks, and with an entry of the people into the neighbouring toddy shops.

THE CULT OF THE COMB.

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

A COMB is a toothed implement for arranging and dressing hair. Although a large variety of materials are used for comb-making in modern times, bamboo was the first forest produce that was used for this industry by primitive man. The geographical distribution of the comb and its transmission from region to region would form very interesting study.

Geographical Distribution.

It is a remarkable phenomenon that the distribution of the comb among the primitive folk follow the distribution of the bamboo, which occurs in Asia and America. In Europe, there are none, and in Australia and Africa, only a few occur. In Travancore, the comb is made of 'golden bamboo' (*Bambusa Vulgaris*), which, according to Gamble, is found in the warmer parts of India, Burma, Malaya, and Ceylon. Comb-making, therefore, follows in the wake of the bamboo.

Dr. Preuss describes in detail the designs on the bamboo combs of the Negritoes of Malacca and compares them with familiar designs on the combs worn by the Kadire of the Cochin State. He works out in detail a theory that the design is not an ornamental geometrical pattern, but consists of a series of hieroglyphics. It is noted by Skeat and Blagden that the Semang women in Malay Peninsula wear in their hair a remarkable kind of comb, which appears to be worn entirely as a charm against diseases.

Occurrence in India.

Relying on Mr. Vincent, Dr. Edgar Thurston remarks that the Kadir combs are not looked upon as charms and that the markings thereon have no mystic significance. A Kadir man generally makes a comb and presents it to his wife before marriage or at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony. It serves only as an ornament. The young men vie with each other as to who can make the best comb.

My researches among the Muduvans and Mannans of Travancore tend to confirm the observations of Mr. Vincent that they do not look upon combs as charms and that the markings have no mystic significance. Among the Muduvans, the bride-groom presents his lady-love with a comb of golden bamboo, which forms the essential part of the marriage ceremony. The comb is always worn by the bride on the back of the head above the knotted hair. The wedding takes place in the evening to avoid dangers arising from potency of the evil eye, female shyness and timidity. The Mannan also

presents his lady-love with a comb, which is shorter and broader than that of the Muduvans, but is more artistic in appearance.

Origin.

The wearing of combs by women has thus a wide geographical distribution. As already pointed out, it is found among the tribes allied to the Australians, the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, the Sakais of Perak, the Oraons and others in Chota-Nagpur, and the Kadirs, the Muduvans, the Mannans and the Malavedans on the Anamalais.

The abovementioned Indian tribes are ethnological survivals of a people who once peopled the whole of India. Dr. Keane points out that they were the first arrivals who made their way to India from Malaysia round the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayan foot-hills, and thence spread over the Peninsula. Thrust back by later migrations of invaders from the plains that once were theirs, those aborigines took refuge in the recesses of the hills, and are classified under the 'Pre-Dravidians'. This theory rests on solid grounds.

Relying on the distribution of megalithic monuments, some scholars opine that there was a movement of a stone-using people not only throughout Indonesia as far as Assam, but through Assam as far as Cape Comorin (the Malayarayans and Muduvans of Travancore). They are identified with the Pre-Dravidians (by Ruggerie) to whom also goes the credit for the transmission of the comb and its wearing even in modern times.

The modern combs are a derivative of the past. Comb-making is now a prominent and extensive industry in which a large variety of materials are used, the most common being horns of cattle, tortoise shell, ivory, box-wood and vulcanite. Horn is by far the most commonly used, and its working illustrates all the peculiarities of the craft. The industry is largely carried on on a small scale with all the disadvantages of manual labour. There is large scale production in factories in Aberdeen and other places, where very ingenious labour and material saving machinery are brought into operation.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, No. XV.—ON A MYTH ABOUT THE WHITE STORK AND THE BLACK STORK.

BY PROFESSOR SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE White Stork (*Ciconia alba*.—Linn.) is entirely white with the exception of the scapulars, quills, and the greater wing-coverts which are black. Its bill and legs are red. The legs are long, and by means of them, it seeks food in marshes and watery places. Its bill is so formed as to enable it to retain its slippery prey. It is found in Europe, Asia and Africa. It visits India during the cold weather only and at that time, can be commonly found in the North-Western Provinces and the Deccan. But it is not known to have been found in Lower Bengal.

It is a bird of passage and breeds upon trees. But, in those places where it is protected by the residents, as in many countries of Europe and Asia, it breeds upon house-tops. This stork arrives in India in October and leaves it in March. It is generally seen going about in flocks and frequents open plains. It feeds upon insects, reptiles and fish. It builds a huge nest of sticks and lays 3 to 5 white eggs.

The Black Stork (*Ciconia nigra*) is deep blackish brown in colour, glossed with purple, green and bronze. Its upper breast is glossed green; while its lower breast, abdomen, flanks and under-tail-coverts are white. Its legs are red with a tinge of orange. This stork is found throughout the greater part of Europe, Africa and Asia. It migrates southward in winter. Large numbers of this bird visit the Punjab, and Northern Sind at that season while flocks consisting of smaller numbers can be met with in Northern India, Assam and the Deccan. But this species has not been found in Southern India, Ceylon and Burma.

The black stork possesses habits similar to those of the *Ciconia alba*, but does not breed about the habitations of human beings. During the cold weather, it is frequently found in flocks consisting of a very large number of birds. Both the white and the black storks are found in abundant numbers in Palestine. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the stork mentioned in the myth forming the subject-matter of this paper must be either the white stork or the black species.

The name of this bird, in the Hebrew language, means "Mercy" or "Pity", while its English designation, which is derived indirectly from the Greek "*Storge*", means "*Natural affection*". This is quite in accordance with our knowledge of this bird's characteristics which are remarkable

for tenderness, especially in the young, towards the old birds. In the autumn, they migrate to warmer regions, as is indicated in the passage cited from Jeremiah, and return to their own habitat on the advent of spring. After their return they, with their families, resort to their respective nests. The country people often gather together in order to see them return to their old haunts, as there are certain superstitious observances connected with their return. It is frequently seen that old birds, which have become feeble and tired owing to their long flight, being supported on the backs of their young ones and the peasants say that it is well known that these feeble and tired birds are carefully laid in their old nests, and cherished by the young ones whom they nurtured there in the preceding spring.

In Sweden, the undermentioned myth is narrated about the stork. It is stated that this bird flew round the Cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified. While flying round it, it went on crying "*Styrka*" which means "*Strengthen*". By this cry, the bird exhorted the crucified Saviour to muster up strength and to cheer up. From this fact, the bird derives its name of *Stork*.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to mention that the Swedes narrate the following myth about another bird—the Swallow—which befriended the Saviour in His hour of tribulation. It is stated that the swallow hovered over the Cross on which Christ was crucified and kept on crying: "*Svala*" which means "*Console*". Therefore they call it "*The Bird of Consolation*".

In Russia also, a similar myth is narrated about the swallow. It is said that while the soldiers, who had crucified Christ, were in doubt as to whether or not the Saviour lived, the swallow sang "*Umar, Umar*" which means "*He is dead; He is dead*". But the malevolent sparrow cried out: "*Jif, Jif*" which means "*He is living; He is living*" in order that further tortures might be inflicted on the crucified Saviour.*

It would appear that the primitive myth-makers of Sweden have invented the aforementioned myth to account for the origin of the bird-name "*Stork*" and connected it with the crucifixion of Christ which is the most noteworthy event in the History of Christianity.

Strangely enough, so far as my knowledge goes, there does not appear to be any Indian myth connected with the white and the black storks, although they are fairly common in Northern India in the winter. But there is another species of stork—the white-necked stork (*Dissura episcopus*) which is also found in India and regarding which there appears to be a myth.

* *Vide* the article entitled "*Bird Legends of Calvary*" published in the Calcutta Daily Newspaper, *The Bengalee*, of Thursday, the 30th April, 1925.

It is known to the people of India as the *Mānikjor* or "*The Companion of a Saint*", and to Europeans as "*the Beefsteak Bird*". I am inclined to think that the name "*Mānikjor*" must have originated from some myth connected with the Mussalman Saint Mānik Jīr. But I have not come across the text of this myth. It is for this reason that the Mahomedans do not partake of the flesh of this bird.*

Both the white stork (*Ciconia alba*) and the white-necked stork (*Dissura episcopus*) have been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. But, strangely enough, the black stork (*Ciconia nigra*) has never been included in that collection.

* *Vide Guide to the Zoological Gardens, Calcutta.* By John Anderson. M.D., F.R.S., Calcutta, 1883, page 6. Also see *List of Animals which have been included in the Collection of the Zoological Gardens, Calcutta.* Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1890, page 105. Also see *The Fauna of British India (Birds)*, Vol. IV, (By Mr. T. Blanford), page 371.

REVIEWS.

Principles of Indian Silpa-Sastra.

BY PROF. PHANINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.

THIS volume has been recently published by Messrs. Moti Lal Banarsi Das of Lahore with a foreword by Dr. James H. Cousins, D.LITT. A description of the origin of Art in general and Indian Art in particular form the opening chapters of the book. Man has always expressed his ideas of beauty through the medium of Art by writing, carving and moulding pictures of beasts, of other men, of flowers and of everything he conceives. The mode of representation has become more and more refined with the advance of civilization. The earliest relics of Indian Art belong to the Asokan period being Buddhistic in type. The earlier artists had no tradition to keep up but had to build one for posterity; and no wonder the first products appear very crude. It was for the later generations to improve on these and gradually raise up a standard. This standard appears to have been brought about by the artist who worked the Sanchi pillars; and he must have been a genius. The artists of the Gangadhara School were the first to make images of Lord Buddha. The bulk of the Silpa literature in India grew up in the post-Gupta period. The peculiar climate of the country, the worms and insects and the Moslem ravages have considerably destroyed the literature on the subject. A list of the books on the subject available for study, made out in a very comprehensive manner, lends credit to the professor's researches. This catalogue consists of not only published works but unpublished works also. The major portion of the published books are edited by M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri and are included in the Trivandrum Series. Prof. Bose's chapters on the principles of Indian Art and the Pratimalakshanam are very interesting. The Hindu images seem to have been conceived after the images of Buddha were brought out. The main principles of Indian Vastuvidya (Architecture), Pratimalakshanam (Sculpture) and Chitravidya (Painting) have all been dealt with in the later chapters; and every one interested in the history of Indian Art has a store of information in this little book.

M. V.

The Mysterious Kundalini.

BY DR. VASANT G. RELE.

A SMALL paper on the physiological explanation of the powers of the Kundalini Yoga read before the Bombay Medical Union in 1926 has been enlarged upon, and is published in book form by Messrs. Taraporewala Sons & Co. of Bombay. Scientific reasons are attempted for the justification of the supernatural powers possible of being attained by the practice of the Yoga. The wonderful feats of strength shown by Deshbandhu....., slender in body and physically apparently weak, are narrated. His organs are described and are said to have acquired that quality of endurance by a systematic practice of Yoga. The Doctor describes in detail the Asanas, Pranayama, Dhyana, Samadhi and Dharana in a very convincing manner and the arguments throughout the book are clear, well arranged and lucid. The book is profusely illustrated and well got up and deserves to be in the hands of all interested in physical and mental improvement by the system originated by the ancient Rishis, and in the development of scientific research.

M. V.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Salivahana Era and Earliest Date.

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI, B.A.

NOW that scholars are once again veering round to the old opinion put forth by the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as to the existence of Kanishka late in the second century A.D., not because Fleet who held that Kanishka lived in c. 58 B.C. is no longer alive, but because of archæological evidence and Chinese literature produced by Messrs. Stenkonow and Okakura, and Dr. Marshall concludes by the evidence of stratification of remains at Taxila that Kanishka lived in the second century B.C., we might once more speculate as to the Founder of the Saka Era.

The old theories crediting Chastapa, Nahapapa, etc., with the authorship of the Saka Era have been disposed off conclusively long ago by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Similarly chronological difficulties exclude the possibility of Gautamiputra Satakarni's association with the Saka Era. This suggestion has been put forward mainly on the ground that he is the only Andhra King who expressly declares that he "conquered the Sakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas, uprooted the family of Khakharātas and re-established the fame of the Sātavahana family". But numismatic evidence goes to show that Gautamiputra lived about 120 A.D.

Even as some scholars hold that there was a Vikramāditya in the first century B.C. alluded to by Hala and that Kalki who founded the Kalki Era was a historical personage, I believe future research will prove the historicity of Salivahana about whom many legends are current especially in Mysore. I allude to one such tale which locates Salivahana's birthplace at Haṭetanduga. This receives a certain help from the theory of Dr. Sukthankar who believes that the original home of the Andhras might be located somewhere in the south—about the region of the Bellary District. This Salivahana, I propose to identify with Hala the author of *Gāthā Saṁśṛāṇī*. That the words Hala and Sala were the variants of the same name is proved by the following :—

“शालो हालो मत्स्यभेदे” (हैम अनेकार्थ कोश)

(Śālo hālō matsyabhēdē)

“शाला हणाक्षि हालो” (देशीयनाममाला)

(Śālā haṇāmbhi hālō)

“शालिवाहन, शालवाहन, सालवाहन, सालवाहण, सालाहण, सातवाहन हालेलेकस्यनामानि”
(प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि)

“Śālavāhana, Śālivāhana, Sālavāhana, Sālavāhaṇa, Sātavāhana, Sālāhaṇa, Hāla, all these are the names of the same individual.” The era established by him is especially in the south called Śālivahana Era while originally it was also called Sakanta or Sakari Era, i.e., dating from the destruction of Sakas. Kshiraswamin,

the celebrated commentator on *Amara*, says that Sudraka, Hala and Satavahana and others had possessed the title of Vikramāditya. Similarly the author of "Triloka Sara" tells us:—

“श्री वीरनाथनिवृत्ते सकाशात् पंचोत्तर षट्छत वर्षाणि पंचमासयुतेन गत्वा पश्चात् विक्रमांक
शकराजो जायते”

Nemichandra alludes to Saka Raja who had the appellation Vikrama. That the era dates from the destruction of Saka is also attested to by Abu who said "Saka is the name of a king whose death was made an era. He did the Hindus a great deal of harm; so they made the date of his death a festival." Similarly Al-Beruni: "The here-mentioned Saka tyrannised over their country between river Sindhu and the ocean and made Āryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling place. . . . Some maintain he was a Sudra from the city of Al-mansura, others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all and that he had come to India from North-West. Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in region of Karur between Multan and castle of Loni." Furthermore, Sodhala in his commentary on Bhāskarāchārya's "करणकुतूहल" declares that "the epoch when Vikramāditya killed the Mlechchas called Sakas is known as Saka Era".

Turning to the evidence from Purāṇas, we find that Hala—Salivahana—Sakāri came to rule about 78 A.D. The *Matsya-purāṇa* list of the Andhra kings with the years of rule is given below with the approximate dates of the Christian Era:—

No.	Name	Duration of Rule	Date
1	Sisuka ..	23 years	220 B.C.—188 B.C.
2	Krishṇa ..	18 years	188 B.C.—170 B.C.
3	Sri Satakarni ..	10 years	170 B.C.—160 B.C.
4	Purṇotsanga ..	18 years	160 B.C.—142 B.C.
5	Skanda Stambhi ..	18 years	142 B.C.—124 B.C.
6	Satakarni ..	56 years	124 B.C.— 68 B.C.
7	Lambodara ..	18 years	68 B.C.— 50 B.C.
8	Apilaka ..	12 years	50 B.C.— 38 B.C.
9	Megha Swati ..	18 years	38 B.C.— 20 B.C.
10	Svati ..	18 years	20 B.C.— 2 B.C.
11	Skanda Svati ..	7 years	2 B.C.— 5 A.D.
12	Mrgendra ..	3 years	5 A.D.— 8 A.D.
13	Kuntala ..	8 years	8 A.D.— 16 A.D.
14	Swatikarna ..	1 year	17 A.D.
15	Puḷomavé ..	36 years	17 A.D.— 53 A.D.
16	Vikrishṇa ..	25 years	53 A.D.— 78 A.D.
17	Hala ..	5 years	78 A.D.— 83 A.D.
Sakānta Era established at the accession of Hāla.			

Thus we find that the initial year of Hāla's accession coincides with that of the so-called Saka era. It cannot be a matter of mere accident. Further on we find that if we accept these dates, they tally well with the known dates of Gautamiputra and Yajna Sri.

No.	Name.	Duration of Rule.	Date.
18	Mandalaka ..	5 years	83—88 A.D.
19	Purikasena ..	1 year	89 A.D.
20	Sundara Sāta ..	1 year	90 A.D.
21	Chakora ..	6 months	
22	Sivaswati ..	18 years	90—108 A.D.
23	Gautamiputra ..	21 years	106—130 A.D.
24	Puḷumavi ..	28 years	130—158 A.D.
25	Siva Sri ..	7 years	158—165 A.D.
26	Siva Skanda ..	7 years	165—172 A.D.
27	Yajna Sri ..	29 years	172—201 A.D.
28	Vijaya ..	6 years	201—207 A.D.
29	Chandra Sri ..	10 years	207—217 A.D.
30	Puḷomavé ..	7 years	217—224 A.D.

The earliest Saka date expressly so mentioned is found in Simha Suri's "Loka Vibhaga" a Jaina work of the time of Simhavarma of Kanchi. The verse runs—

सर्वसरेतु द्वाविंशे कांचीश सिंहवर्मणः ।

आशीत्यग्रे शकाब्दानाम् सिद्धमेतच्छतवयं ॥

[Samvatsārctu dvāvimsē kāñchīśa Simhavarmaṇah |
Āśītyagre sakābdānām siddhametat chchatastrayam ||]

i.e., in the Saka year 380, in the time of Simhavarma, lord of Kanchi, A.D. 458. The credit of finding this date which might prove the sheet-anchor of Pallava and Ganga chronology goes to Mr. Narasimhachar. I should like to point out the existence of a still anterior date. Mr. Rice notices a Baṇa inscription of the year 261 in Indian Antiquary 1886. John Faithful Fleet peremptorily declared, "I consider that this grant is certainly spurious, at any rate, so far as the date is concerned." It has been a pious belief among chronologists that any mention of a week-day before the date of Eran Pillar Inscription must be a forgery. Anyhow the date of this grant seems, however, to disprove any such assumption. It is true that the year 261 of Sakābda will not be Viḷambi but Vikari. But then the reading seems to be "ऐकनि षष्टि" instead of "ऐक षष्टि" which gives us the year 337—338 A.D. The date is given as "Ekashasthyuttara dvayasatē Sakābdē pravardhamānātmanah trayōvimsati vartamāna Viḷambi samvatsarē Kartika suklapakshē trayodasyām Sōmavārē Aswinyām Nakshatre," *i.e.*, S 261, Viḷambi Kartika Sukla 13, Monday, we shall see if the week-day tallies,

Swamikannu's Tables.

New Moon tithi Kartika 337-338 ..	(3) October 11.19
Add for 13 tithis ..	(13) .....12.29
First New Moon in Solar year 337-338 ..	(16) October 23.48
Add for Kartika S. 13.	1.287
	189.98
☉ Equation for 191.267 ..	191.267
Anomaly of first New Moon in Solar year..	-.17
Add for Kartika S 13 ..	19.829
	24.652
	44.481
	-.17
☾'s equation for 44.311 ..	44.311
	+.25
	-.17
	+.08
	(16) October 23.48
	+.08
	(16) October 23.56
	i.e., second week-day Monday.
	October 23, 13 hours and 30 minutes,
	A.D. 337-338.

List of Subscriptions and Donations received during the Quarter ending 31st March, 1927.

Names Messrs.	Volume	Amount		
		RS.	A.	P.
B. Rama Rao, Madras ..	XVII ..	3	0	0
Srikanta Sastry, Mysore ..	do ..	3	0	0
K. H. Ramajaya, Bangalore ..	do ..	5	0	0
A. T. Setlur, Bangalore ..	XIV & XV ..	10	0	0
Dr. M. Srinivasa Rao, Bangalore ..	XVII ..	5	0	0
C. Krishnaswami Rao, Bangalore ..	Part for XV & on ..	3	0	0
S. S. Mehta, Bombay ..	XVII ..	3	0	0
H. Krishnappa, Bangalore ..	XVI ..	5	0	0
Somasundara Desikar, Nainillam ..	XVII ..	3	0	0
Hon. Secretary, Free Reading Room and Library, Chikmagalur ..	do ..	5	0	0
Govt. Epigraphist for India, Ooty ..	do ..	3	0	0
Hon. Secretary, K. G. F. Club ..	do ..	3	4	0
C. Krishna Rao, Tumkur ..	do ..	3	4	0
R. V. Krishnan, Madras ..	do ..	3	4	0
M. Hiriana, Mysore ..	do ..	3	4	0
H. S. Govinda Rao, Channapatna ..	do ..	3	4	0
C. B. Gopal Rao, Kolar ..	do ..	3	4	0
V. T. Krishnamachariar, Madras ..	do ..	3	4	0
K. Krishnamurthy Rao, Mercara ..	do ..	3	4	0
S. V. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Mysore ..	do ..	3	4	0
Gulam Ahmed Kalam, K. G. F. ..	do ..	3	4	0
S. Abdul Khalak, Hassan ..	do ..	3	4	0
K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Madras ..	do ..	3	4	0
Dr. J. G. Fitz Maurice, K. G. F. ..	do ..	3	4	0
K. Chandrasekharaiya, Mysore ..	do ..	3	4	0
H. M. A. Cooke, K. G. F. ..	do ..	3	4	0
K. B. Madhava, Mysore ..	do ..	3	4	0
Hon. Secretary, Cosmopolitan Club, Madras	do	3	4	0
T. K. Virachar, Chittoor ..	do ..	3	4	0
P. S. Govinda Rao, Mysore ..	do ..	3	0	0
P. K. Gode, Poona	do ..	3	4	0
N. Raghavachar, Anantapur ..	do ..	3	4	0
L. S. V. Rama Iyer, K. G. F. ..	do ..	3	4	0
S. Sitaramaiya, Advocate, Shimoga ..	do ..	3	4	0

Messrs.	Names	Volume	Amount		
			RS.	A.	P.
	K. D. Venkate Urs	XVII	..	3	4 0
	M. Venkatanaranappa, Bhadravati	do	..	3	4 0
	Secretariat Club, Madras ..	do	..	3	4 0
	B. Krishnaiyengar, Secunderabad ..	do	..	3	4 0
	C. Lake, Saklaspur	do	..	3	4 0
	Rev. A. R. Slater, Hassan ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Sir William Beardsell, Madras ..	do	..	3	4 0
	T. K. Krishna Menon	do	..	3	4 0
	Rev. Fr. E. Fernandez, Bombay ..	do	..	3	4 0
	K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, Chidambaram	do	..	3	4 0
	Bhima Rao Belladone, Bellary ..	do	..	3	4 0
	K. S. Sitaraman, Bhadravati ..	do	..	3	4 0
	G. M. Taylor, Oorgaum	do	..	3	4 0
	B. Ramaswamaiya, Hassan .. .	do	..	3	4 0
	Rev. P. Picot, K. G. F.	do	..	3	4 0
	S. P. Y. Surendranath Voeygeli				
	Arya, Madras	do	..	3	4 0
	Dewan Bahadur P. R. Narayana				
	Iyer, Madura	do	..	3	4 0
	W. H. Nurse, Madras	do	..	3	4 0
	C. Subba Rao, Shimoga	do	..	3	4 0
	P. R. Krishnaswami Iyengar,				
	Kumbakonam	do	..	3	4 0
	N. Shama Iyengar, Chikmagalur ..	do	..	3	4 0
	M. Harithirthan, Pudukotah ..	do	..	3	4 0
	P. G. D'Souza, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	P. A. Barton, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	Rev. Van Peane, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	Kalappa Setty, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	Dr. S. Amritraj, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
	S. Sitaramaiya, Sub-Division				
	Officer, Shimoga	XVI & XVII	..	6	4 0
	Y. K. Ramachandra Rao, Bhadravati	do	..	6	4 0
	Rt. Rev. Bishop of Mangalore ..	XVII	..	3	4 0
	R. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Mysore	do	..	3	4 0
	Adyar Library, Madras	do	..	3	4 0
	B. M. Srikantia, Mysore	do	..	3	4 0
	M. Subbraya, Madras	do	..	3	4 0
	V. Subrahmanya Iyer, Vontikoppal,				
	Mysore	do	..	3	4 0
	Bombay University Library ..	do	..	3	4 0

Messrs.	Names	Volume	Amount		
			RS.	A.	P.
	Rev. H. Heras, Bombay ..	XVII	3	4	0
	R. Alvar Iyengar, Bhavani ..	do	3	4	0
	K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, Fernhill ..	do	3	4	0
	Rao Bahadur P. Narayana Menon, Trichur ..	do	3	4	0
	B. Sundara Bhashyam, Kilpauk, Madras ..	do	3	4	0
	Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla, Bombay ..	do	3	4	0
	C. R. T. Congreve, Valapuri ..	do	3	4	0
	S. Sarvothama Rao, Cudapah ..	do	3	4	0
	Prof. Datto Varman Potdar, Poona..	do	3	4	0
	Hon'ble Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Cochin ..	do	3	4	0
	K. Tatachar, Secunderabad ..	do	3	4	0
	Bellathur V. Raghavendra Rao, Mysore ..	do	3	4	0
	C. S. Venkatachar, Madras ..	do	3	4	0
	H. J. Bhabha, Bombay ..	do	3	4	0
	C. J. Hall, Trivandrum ..	do	3	4	0
	C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, Coimbatore ..	do	3	4	0
	J. A. Saldhana, Mangalore ..	do	3	4	0
	Rev. H. Gulliford, Kotagiri ..	do	3	4	0
	J. C. Rollo, Mysore ..	do	3	4	0
	S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Madras ..	do	3	4	0
	M. V. Lakshmana Iyer, Tiruvallur ..	do	3	4	0
	Rev. C. Auzuech, Magghe ..	do	3	4	0
	Rev. H. Baillean, Mayavaram ..	do	3	4	0
	Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Madras ..	do	3	4	0
	B. Gururaja Rao, Dindigul ..	do	3	4	0
	T. Srinivasachar, Kolar ..	do	3	4	0
	Charles Theobald Brothers, Mysore	do	3	4	0
	G. Sundara Rao, Chickballapur ..	do	3	4	0
	Rev. F. Veyesseyre, K. G. F. ..	do	3	4	0
	M. H. Ramachandra Rao, Hassan ..	do	3	4	0
	K. G. Sesha Iyer, Trivandrum ..	do	3	4	0
	S. K. Rajagopala Iyer, Vontikop- pal, Mysore ..	do	3	4	0
	T. S. Ramanath, Kodaikanal Road	do	3	4	0
	R. S. Vaidyanath Iyer, Mylapore, Madras ..	do	3	4	0

Messrs.	Names	Volume	Amount		
			RS.	A.	P.
	Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami				
	Iyengar, Trivandrum ..	XVII	..	3	4 0
	H. Waddington, Coimbatore ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Miss A. E. Nash, Bangalore ..	do	..	5	0 0
	N. S. Subba Rao, Bangalore ..	do	..	5	0 0
	S. Parameswara Iyer, Trivandrum ..	do	..	3	4 0
	M. Somasundaram Pillai, Orattanad	do	..	3	4 0
	K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, Pennington				
	Road ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Kalipada Mitra, Monghyr ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Rajasabhabhushana Dewan Baha-				
	dur C. Srikantesvara Iyer, Mysore	do	..	3	4 0
	P. N. Sundararaja Iyer, Coconada	do	..	3	4 0
	Rev. Robert S. J. Zimmerman, Bombay	do	..	3	4 0
	S. A. Venkatesvara Iyer, Battagundi	do	..	3	4 0
	Bhagavadatta, Lahore ..	do	..	3	4 0
	T. Abdul Khadar, Mysore ..	do	..	3	4 0
	A. E. L. M. College, Guntur ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Provincial Museum, Lucknow ..	do	..	3	4 0
	K. S. Ramaswami Sastry, Tanjore ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Rao Bahadur S. K. Rodda, Dharwar	do	..	3	4 0
	Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram	XVIII	..	3	4 0
	K. Ramapishorati, Tripunithura ..	XVII	..	3	4 0
	Superintendent, Archæological				
	Survey, Patna ..	do	..	3	4 0
	A. V. Ramanathan, Mysore ..	do	..	3	4 0
	T. R. Swaminathan, Bangalore ..	do	..	5	0 0
	Rajadharma pravina Dewan Bahadur	Towards Life mem-			
	K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Bangalore	bership donation ..	10	0	0
	N. Krishnamachariar, Vellore ..	XVII	..	3	4 0
	V. Mallikarjunam, Madras ..	do	..	3	4 0
	C. Raitt, Kutta Post ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Hiralal T. Paupi, Ahmedabad ..	do	..	3	4 0
	J. A. Richardson, Travancore ..	do	..	3	4 0
	S. Krishna Murthy, French Rocks ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Kshitindranath Tagore, Calcutta ..	do	..	3	4 0
	C. Ransford, Bellary ..	do	..	3	4 0
	J. S. Aseervadam Pillai, Cholapuram	do	..	3	4 0
	S. T. Moses, Calicut ..	do	..	3	4 0
	Hon'ble Mr. A. Suryanarayana Rao,				
	Vizagapatam ..	do	..	3	4 0

Messrs.	Names	Volume	Amount RS. A. P.
	Rev. A. J. D'Souza, Mangalore ..	XVII	3 4 0
	Punjab University Library, Lahore..	do	3 4 0
	V. V. Sarma, Rajahmundry ..	do	3 4 0
	S. Venkata Ramaiya, Chickmagalur	do	3 4 0
	Librarian, Nizam's College, Hyderabad	do	5 4 0
	M. Raja Rao, Bangalore ..	do	5 0 0
	H. V. Narayana Rao, Bangalore ..	XV	5 0 0
	K. N. Venkatasubba Sastry, Mysore	XVII	3 0 0
	S. Venkatesaiya, Hassan ..	do	3 4 0
	A. V. Seshachar, Chicacole,		
	Berhampur ..	do	3 4 0
	Scottish Churches College, Calcutta	do	3 4 0
	W. J. Urdhwarashe, Indore ..	do	3 4 0
	Rt. Rev. Fernandez, Calcutta ..	do	3 4 0
	J. Ramaiya Panthulu, Tottaramudi	do	3 4 0
	Prof. B. N. Sharma, Benares ..	do	3 4 0
	V. K. Kannan Menon, Chalapuram	do	3 4 0
	Rev. F. Periers, Archbishop of Calcutta	do	3 4 0
	O. Vishvanatha Rao, Nellore ..	do	3 4 0
	S. P. Rajagopalachari, Mysore ..	do	3 4 0
	E. H. L. Seppings, Rangoon ..	do	3 4 0
	D. Sadasiva Reddi, Rajahmundry ..	do	3 4 0
	S. S. Sinha, Bankipur ..	do	3 4 0
	C. Nilakantaiya, Mysore ..	do	3 4 0
	S. Gundu Rao, Mysore ..	XV, XVI & XVII	9 4 0
	B. Subrahmanyaiya, Mysore ..	XVII	3 0 0
	Sandige Siddappa, Bellary ..	do	3 4 0
	A. Rangaswami Saraswati, Kalyan-		
	droog Camp ..	do	3 4 0
	S. Cadambi, Indore ..	do	3 4 0
	Imperial Library, Calcutta ..	do	3 4 0
	C. R. Kalyanasundaram Panthalu,		
	Marudapalli ..	do	3 4 0
	H. K. Veerabasavaiya, Seringapatam	do	3 4 0
	L. A. Krishnaiyer, Kottayam,		
	Trivandrum ..	do	3 4 0
	Suryaprasad Mohojar, Gaya ..	do	3 4 0
	K. T. Paul, Salem ..	do	3 2 0
	N. S. Narasimha Iyengar, Trivandrum	do	3 4 0
	Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior	do	3 4 0
	Babu Haridas Mitra, Rajghat ..	do	3 4 0

Names	Volume	Amount		
		RS. A. P.		
Messrs.				
V. K. Rajagopala Thampan, Mangalore	XVII	..	3	4 0
Dr. S. Rama Iyer, Pokakku ..	do	..	3	4 0
B. R. Subba Rao, Mysore ..	do	..	3	4 0
Burton Library and Museum, Bhavanagar	do	..	3	4 0
T. Dharma Rao Naidu, Nellore	XVI & XVII	..	6	4 0
John Gibb, Colombo ..	XVII	..	3	4 0
S. R. Rasarapram, Jaffna ..	do	..	3	4 0
J. N. Petit Institute, Bombay ..	do	..	3	4 0
G. Ramadoss, Vizagapatam ..	do	..	3	4 0
K. Devanathachariar, Bangalore ..	do	..	5	0 0
B. Puttaiya, Bangalore ..	do	..	5	0 0
A. Madhava Iyengar, Bangalore ..	do	..	5	0 0
K. V. Ramaswami Iyengar, Bangalore	do	..	5	0 0
Dr. Narendranath Law, Calcutta ..	XV, XVI & XVII & Essay on Gunadhya	..	11	14 0
Prof. P. Pissurlencar, Goa ..	XVII	..	3	4 0
R. B. Plumer, Bangalore ..	do	..	5	0 0

**Books presented or purchased during the Quarter
ending 31st March, 1927.**

Presented by—

Government of Mysore.—

1. Report of the work done in the Department of Sericulture in Mysore, 1925—26.
2. Administration Report of the Department of Geology, 1924—25.
3. Annual Report of the working of the Civil Veterinary Department, 1925—26.
4. Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice, 1925—26.
5. Administration Report of the Mysore Revenue Survey and Settlement Department, 1925—26.
6. Report on the working of the Amrit Mahal Department, 1924—25.
7. Administration Report of the Department of Geology, 1925—26.
8. Report on the Administration of the Police Department, 1925—26.
9. Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in Mysore, 1925—26.
10. Report on Public Instruction, 1925—26.
11. Report on Co-operative Societies, 1925—26.
12. Administration Report on the working of the Department of Industries and Commerce, 1925—26.
13. Annual Administration Report of the Government Gardens Department, 1925—26.
14. Report on the Administration of Mysore for the year 1925—26.

Government of Travancore.—

1. Malayalam Series No. XV :
Bhasha Ramayana Champu (Balakanda).
2. Malayalam Series No. XVI :
Parvatee Panigrahanam (Aruvittam).
3. Malayalam Series No. XVII :
Praisham with Commentary.
4. Sri Vanchi Setu Lakshmi Series No. 5 :
Muhurta Padavi with the Balasankara Commentary.

Nizam's Government.—

Report of the Archæological Department, 1926.

Kashmir Government.—

1. Kashmir Series No. XLI :
The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta with Commentary by Rajanaka Jayaratha,

2. Kashmir Series No. XLII :
The Spandakarikas of Vasugupta with the Nirnaya by Ksemaraja.
3. Kashmir Series No. XLIII :
Shivasutra-Vartikam by Varadaraja.
4. Kashmir Series No. XLIV :
The Svachchanda-Tantram with Commentary, Vol. III by Ksemaraja.

University of Madras.—

1. The Calendar for the year 1926-27, Vol. I.
2. do do do II.

University of Mysore.—

1. The Calendar for the year 1926-27, Vol. I.
2. do do do II.

Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India.—

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 29.
Specimens of Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archæology by Khan
Sahib Moulvi Zafar Hasan.

Punjab Sanskrit Depot.—

1. Ancient Indian Tribes by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
2. Principles of Indian Silpasastra with the Text of Mayasastra by Prof.
Phanindra Nath Bose, M.A.

Oxford University Press.—

Catalogue of the Hindustani Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office
by the late James Fuller Blumhardt, M.A.

The Editor.—

Sivanubhava, August 1926 : a Quarterly Kannada Magazine, edited by
R. S. P. G. Halakatti, B.A., LL.B.

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.—

The Mysterious Kundalini by Vasant G. Rele.

Mr. G. R. Jain.—

1. Glimpses of a Hidden Science in the Original Christian Teachings
by G. R. Jain.
2. Confluence of Opposites by G. R. Jain.

Messrs. Moolji Jaitha & Co.—

1. Shrimad Brahmasutranubhashyam, III Chapter, I Part.
2. do do do II do.

Purchased—

1. Hindu Padpadshahi by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.
2. Chatterji's Picture Albums, 16 volumes.
3. Ethics of Buddhism by S. Tachibana.

4. Education of India by Arthur Mathew.
 5. India : Bond or Free by Annie Beasant.
 6. The International Year Book of Child-care and Protection, 1925.
 7. Education Department by Ikin.
 8. Principles of Social Reconstruction by Bertrand Russel.
 9. History of Political Thought by Gettell.
 10. Mercantilism and East India Trade by P. G. Thomas.
 11. The Modern State by MacIver.
 12. Sheridan to Robertson by Ernest Bradlee Watson.
 13. An Outline Introduction to the History of Religions by Theodore
H. Robinson.
 14. Tagore by Thompson.
 15. China and the West by W. E. Soothill.
 16. Political Ideas of the English Romanticists by Crane Brinton.
 17. Systems of Public Welfare by Odum & Willard.
 18. Charm of Indian Art by Gladstone Solomon.
 19. Fifty Years of Parliament by the Earl of Oxford, 2 volumes.
 20. The Changing East by W. A. Spender.
 21. Rural Economy.
 22. Cotton-growing Countries.
 23. Proportional Representation by Horwill.
 24. Scenes and Characters from Indian History by Payne.
 25. The Making of Modern India by Macnicol.
 26. Human Experience by Viscount Haldane.
 27. Pathway to Reality by Viscount Haldane.
 28. Lay Thoughts of a Dean by W. R. Inge.
 29. The Music of India by Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahamin.
 30. Human Nature and Education by G. Woodburn.
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EXCHANGES.

I. Editors of:—

1. "HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *P.O. Box No. 2139, Calcutta.*
2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY," *British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.*
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The "Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*
4. "MODERN REVIEW," *91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
5. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," *Srirangam.*
6. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
7. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH," *Vepery, Madras.*
8. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST," *The Library, Sinshu,
Otani University, Kyoto.*
9. "THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
10. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
11. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Gurudatta Bhavan, Lahore.*
12. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN
GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
13. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
14. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,"
New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
15. "THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevely.*
16. "EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
17. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
18. "DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.*
19. "MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi, B.N.Ry. (India).*
20. "THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALAI," *Mysore.*
21. "THE EVENING MAIL," *New Tharagupet, Bangalore City.*
22. "THE JAIN GAZETTE," *Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street,
George Town, Madras.*
23. "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Narsari Chambers,
Outram Road, (opposite Hornby Road), Fort, Bombay.*
24. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA," *Mayavati P.O.,
Almora Dist.*
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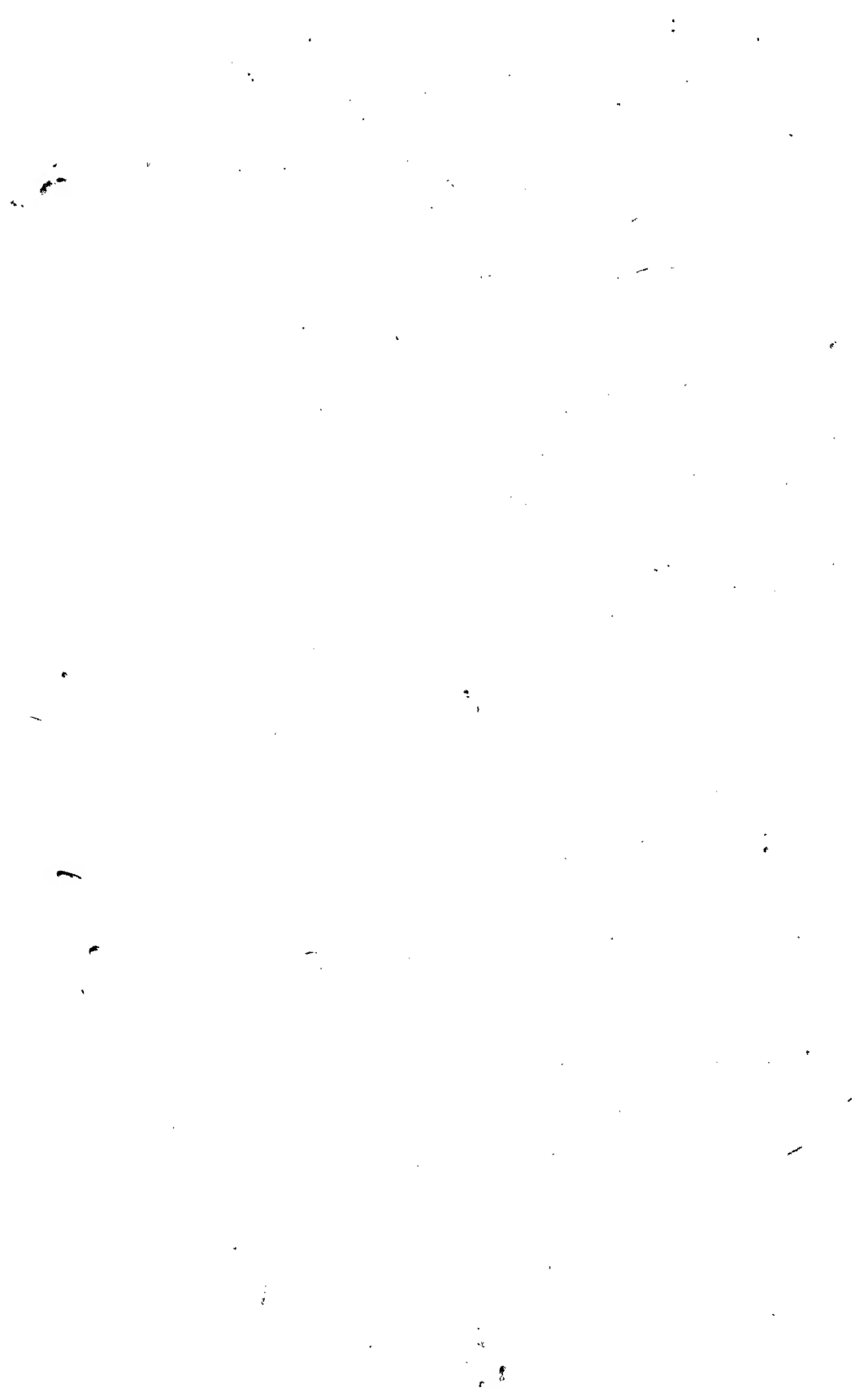
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